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TROUVÈRES

AND

TROUBADOURS

A Popular Treatise

BY

PIERRE AUBRY

TRANSLATED FROM THE SECOND FRENCH EDITION
BY
CLAUDE AVELING

G. SCHIRMER
NEW YORK & LONDON
1914

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TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

This popular account of Troubadour Music is the swan-song of a scholar of remarkable erudition and attainment, lightened by enthusiasm for his subject and sympathy with the general reader. PIERRE AUBRY died in 1910, as the result of a fencing accident, at the age of thirty-six, a time when many men's activities are just beginning to reach fruition. Yet Pierre Aubry, in his short life, not only covered a vast field of research, but gave to the world practical results by the score. The references under his name in the Bibliography (at end) would do honor to twice his years; and in reading this study of Troubadours and their music, described by Mr. E. J. Dent as "Medieval Music without tears," one realises, with admiration, the author's skill in adapting the fruits of his erudition to the reconstruction of attractive scenes in the life and society of the period.

In order that the original texts of the songs may be followed without difficulty, the English translations (most of them new) have been made as simple as possible. A slight acquaintance with Latin and French (with due caution as to the traps that always lurk in 'unseens') will enable the reader to make out the meaning for himself.

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In this connection, the Translator's grateful acknowledgments are due to Miss Barbara Smythe, whose London University lectures on Troubadour Music have done much to stimulate interest in this branch of medieval history.

The original French work is published in the series entitled "Les Maîtres de la Musique," alluded to on page 1, line 2.

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TROUVÈRES and TROUBADOURS

I

THE TROUVÈRES AND TROUBADOURS WERE MUSICIANS AS WELL AS POETS

A first glance at the title of this book may provoke surprise, for a series devoted to masters of music hardly suggests to the unsuspecting reader a volume on trouvères and troubadours, who would seem to be more appropriately assigned to a survey of literature. But the paradox is mental rather than actual, based on the conception of medieval lyrical poetry formed by modern historians of literature, rather than on tangible and ascertainable fact; it is the development of a point of view generally adopted in a period not far removed from our own.

It is true that eighteenth-century explorers whose daring prompted them to study the lyrical art of the middle ages—*e. g.*, Levesque de la Ravallière (*Poésies du Roi de Navarre, 1742*) and De La Borde (*Essai sur la Musique ancienne et moderne, 1780*)—happily realised that the trouvères and troubadours were musicians as

NOTE. This second edition has enabled me to correct certain errors and modify passages which appeared to undervalue the achievements of my colleague M. Jean Beck.

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well as poets, and that the exposition of one aspect of their creative genius to the exclusion of the other was an imperfect achievement; hence, both of these authors, in their editions of the trouvères chosen, Thibaut of Champagne and Navarre and the Châtelain (Castellan) de Couci, give the melodic context of the poems quoted.

This example, however, was not followed. Paulin Paris, in the twenty-third volume of the *Histoire littéraire de la France*, devoted a justly famous chapter to the *trouvères chansonniers*, and moreover published in 1833 his *Romancero françois;* after him, Hécart, Dinaux, Leroux de Lincy, Keller, Wackernagel and Tarbé edited the early texts of our medieval lyrics; but all confined themselves to the literary aspect, and gave no indication that the melodic inspiration attracted their serious attention. Nor are indications of this dual interest more pronounced in critical editions recently published, such as *Conon de Béthune* by M. Wallenskoeld, *Gace Brulé* by M. Huet, *Blondel de Nesle* by M. Wiese, nor, in fact, in any publication of the same kind. Troubadours have fared no better: contemporary editors insist on treating them as poets like Malherbe, Voltaire, Lamartine or Victor Hugo.

Undoubtedly the conception of medieval lyric poetry formed by nineteenth-century editors had its justification. While De La Borde and Ravallière would have found 'critical edition' a meaningless term, and while Paulin Paris and his erudite contemporaries begin dimly to realise that the publication of a text may demand a

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certain amount of discernment and system, the modern school of philologians have raised textual criticism to an extraordinary level of precision and exactitude From this arises a twofold consequence; first, that an equally accurate study of both the melodic and the literary work of the trouvères would have required—as our editors evidently felt—a combination of musical and philological culture in the same man, and hitherto of rare occurrence;—secondly, a difficulty inherent in the melodic texts themselves, arising from their instability under scientific observation: a philologian who tried to submit a melodic specimen of the trouvère period to the critical test would have found, with me, that in practice it is almost impossible to express these compositions in terms definite and scientifically exact. This twofold difficulty has undoubtedly discouraged modern editors. Confronted with a complex work, a combination of literature and music, they have simply ignored or shirked its musical side, and by unconsciously neglecting to emphasise the fact that the lyrical poems of the middle ages were intended to be sung to the poet's own melodies, have failed to make it understood that the trouvères and troubadours were musicians and poets. This incomplete conception is, I venture to think, unfortunate and mischievous, for it has resulted in erroneous views concerning French lyrical poetry of the middle ages. The object of this book is to correct this fault: I shall endeavour to establish the idea that the troubadours and trouvères were happily inspired melodists, and to

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satisfy the reader of my innocence of the paradox laid to the charge of the editors mentioned above. But, seeing that the poetical works of the troubadours and trouvères have received constant attention and are readily accessible in excellent editions, I shall devote myself to their musical aspect. A just but modest revenge taken by the history of music for a century of oppression carried on by philologians and historians of literature for their exclusive benefit!

What is the right method to adopt in a comprehensive study of troubadours and trouvères? These are the names given to poets, who, from the middle of the twelfth to the end of the thirteenth century, wrote verses intended to be sung, either in Provençal or in French, and in most cases composed the melodies to which they were set.

The real nature of these songs is revealed by an amazingly rich treasure of manuscripts; some fifteen of these, by troubadours as well as trouvères, afford abundant material evidence: these witnesses of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries give the first verse of each song under the melody which serves for all the verses. Other contemporary lyrical forms, such as the *lais* (lays), or the *épîtres farcies*,[1] have music throughout. These leave no room for doubt, but additional

[1] So-called "pièces farcies" (literally, "stuffed pieces") were of quite common occurrence in the middle ages; those most in use in French literature are in French mingled with bad Latin; even in the churches, *hymnes farcies* (*épîtres*, *i. e.*, epistles) were sung. Kyries and Credos in this burlesque style are still extant. But such *poésie*

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proofs are to be found in some of the texts. Conon de Béthune writes:

Canchon legiere a entendre
Ferai, car bien m'est mestiers
Ke cascuns le puist aprendre
Et c'on le cant volontiers...[1]

And again:

Bien me deüsse targier
De canchon faire et de mos et de cans[2]

In other cases, the *Biographies des Troubadours*[3] in Provençal dialect give most valuable and precise information on this combination of poet and musician in the same creative genius. They show that one troubadour wrote graceful verse but mediocre melodies, while another invented felicitously both words and tune, and yet another could simultaneously compose, sing and accompany himself on the vièle.[4] These little biographies, though of slight critical value, abound in picturesque

farcie occurred most frequently in certain grotesque festivals; following is a verse sung at Evreux at the Fête des Cornards:

De asino bono nostro,
Melior et optimo,
Debemus *faire feste.*
Un gros chardon reperit in via;
Il lui coupa la teste.

EDITOR'S NOTE.

[1] 'I will write a simple song, that any one can learn and enjoy singing, for it is my profession.' A. Wallenskoeld, p. 218.

[2] 'I should have to postpone the writing of songs, both words and music.' Ibid., p. 228.

[3] *Les Biographies des Troubadours en langue provençale*, published by Camille Chabaneau, Toulouse, 1885 (from Vol. X of l'*Histoire générale du Languedoc*).

[4] *Vièle, vielle*, or *viula*. The "guitar-fiddle," the forerunner of the viol.

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details of the social and personal conditions under which thirteenth-century musicians lived; further reference will be made to them.

Elsewhere, information is available as to the manner in which the monodic music (the songs) of the troubadours and trouvères was performed. It was very unusual for the trouvère to sing his own compositions, this being the province of the *jongleur* or *joglar*. The latter would move from castle to castle, *vièle* on back, and manuscript in wallet to refresh his memory. Should the noble lords prove obstinately inhospitable, the jongleur would turn to the village green with a less elaborate repertoire. In every case, whether at the castle or in the street, the performance began with an instrumental ritournelle, establishing the rhythm and the key, followed by the jongleur's singing of the first verse to his own accompaniment of sustained notes, perhaps on the drones of his *vièle;* at the end of the verse the ritournelle was repeated, then followed the second verse, and so on.

Facts like these, in their simple statement and natural interpretation, convince us of the intimate connection between music and poetry in medieval lyrical compositions.

Were words and music always the offspring of the same brain, the same creative inspiration? Without going so far as to make this assertion, we find the trouvère to be both poet and musician in a large majority of examples. Not being blessed with the composer's mental equipment I cannot venture to decide whether, despite illustrious

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instances, it is an advantage to a composer to write his own words. In modern times individuals justify the principle, and even in the period of the troubadours and trouvères, distinctions appear. Some merely write the poem for the professional musician, usually a jongleur, to set to music; sometimes, too, another jongleur takes a trouvère's song already set, and adapts fresh music to it. Hence, certain songs in vogue in the thirteenth century have come down to us in the manuscripts with two or three different melodies; the famous song of the King of Navarre, *Dame, einsi est qu'il m'en couvient aler*, is known in three settings; we must admit that in this instance the trouvère poet had a musical collaborator.

Other authors tell us that their songs were written after the model of some earlier composition. "Thus Jacques de Cambrai (James of Cambrai)[1] wrote a song *ou son* (that is, to the music and consequently in the metre of) *de la glaie meüre* (a song by Raoul de Soissons beginning *Quant voi la glaie meüre); others used Ou chant de Tuit mi desir* (by Thibaud of Champagne), *ou chant de l'unicorne* (Thibaud: *Ainsi com l'unicorne sui*) *ou chant de De bone amour et de loial amie* (by Gace Brulé)".[2]

[1] Modern spelling and nomenclature of medieval names is largely a matter of choice, James, Hugh, Arnold, etc., appearing under many guises; it may be noted that William of Poitou (p. 165) is also called, by various writers, Guilhem; Guillem; Guillaume; William VII; William IX; William of Guienne; Count of Poitiers; Duke of Aquitaine; William of Aquitaine.—TR.

[2] Gaston Paris, *La littérature française au moyen âge*, p. 181 Paris, 1890, 8vo.

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Others, finally, write words and music together, producing the highest and most perfect form of lyrical composition, already foreshadowed in Greek antiquity. At the opposite pole of musical history, this conception has reappeared in our own times: Richard Wagner and Vincent d'Indy wrote their own librettos. Has a word, then, its own hidden melody, its *cantus obscurior*, or does the musical formula respond to an idea, a single idea, of which the composer possesses the secret and key? This unity in creation is an article of faith with the contemporary composer. By this alone is it possible to realise in art the union of concomitant facts in nature, to reproduce in musical declamation the true accent of speech and to discover in speech the actual word demanded by the music. But these æsthetic theories were not heeded by the troubadours and trouvères; this problem of artistic truth did not trouble them at all. From this standpoint their musical output is quite superficial; Hérold or Boïeldieu would not have disowned it, for it is the work of men who sing for singing's sake.

Since the medieval lyrical writers did not strive after a more intense means of expression in this union of two creative faculties, what was the object of the poet-musician's conceptions in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries?

The object was quite material. There could be no question of musical expression in melody such as that of the troubadours and trouvères, where formality reigned absolute; but the melodic phrase was the reflection of the

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verses to which it was linked, their counterpart, a magnified, sonorous echo.

We shall treat later, in discussing medieval prosody, of the bondage of melody, and the strict rules which enslaved it to verse. In the middle ages, when the troubadours and trouvères represent musical civilisation, rhythmic independence does not exist. The position is this: The rhythmists of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the mensural musicians, had retained, in the main, three types of ancient metre, the *iambus* (three beats, a short followed by a long, ⏑—,); the *trochee* (also three beats, a long followed by a short,—⏑); and the *dactyl* (four beats, a long followed by two shorts,—⏑ ⏑). All the melodies of the troubadours and trouvères are based on these three formulæ. Now, there is a close connection between the rhythm of the lines which form a verse and the rhythmic formula of the accompanying music; thus, a verse of decasyllabic lines almost inevitably calls for a dactylic rhythm. The trouvère had no right to conceive a melody in another rhythm. Examples and explanations given later, will elucidate this view of medieval rhythm, quite at variance with the elasticity of modern times.

The regulation framework of the melodic phrase tends to a still closer union between text and music; in fact, the musician must be no less adept in the science of versification than the poet, so the music of the trouvères is prosodised music. The lyrical work of the middle ages must be judged as a combination of two arts, music

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and poetry, ceaselessly reacting upon one another. This conception is certainly lacking in loftiness. Quite another kind of grandeur appears in the Wagnerian scheme, but from the fact that the fusion of poet and musician is there revealed in more material completeness, its manifestation is more precise; the poet-musician becomes also a musician-poet. We do not grudge the troubadours and trouvères their prominent place in the history of Literature, but we do claim for them a position no less distinguished and legitimate in the history of Music.

* * *

Having attempted to demonstrate a truth commonly accounted a paradox, and having established the musical character of the works of the troubadours and trouvères, I shall endeavour to determine the relation of the latter to the musical history of their period.

The general public is quite content to treat things outside its range as negligible quantities; and even moderns who can wax eloquent on questions of contemporary music, take but a languid interest in the initiatives of French music. This is an unfortunate blunder. We can interest ourselves in the masterpieces of the middle ages, in the combined achievement of architects, sculptors and stained-glass workers, to whose efforts we owe our magnificent Gothic cathedrals, in romance of chivalry and adventure, in fables and chronicles, in the venerable landmarks of our national literature—but not in the musical compositions of the

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same period. The social history of the past can excite the curiosity of the modern historian no less, if not more, than the political; we can enjoy reconstructing the intimate life of the thirteenth century by delving in contemporary texts; we find a picturesque attraction in their intrusions into the family life of *seigneur* and *bourgeois*, in living their daily lives and sharing their amusements. In those days, as in ours, singing, whether spontaneous or artistic, was the favourite recreation. Let us hear the contemporaries of Philip Augustus or Saint Louis sing. We can do so; if we do not hear them speak we hear them sing. We do not know precisely how they pronounced their words, but we can certainly reconstruct their melodies with an accuracy truly scientific, and the result is not negligible. Moreover, these researches appeal to the most obstinate imagination. The history of that music becomes also the history of that life.

In the twelfth century, which marks the appearance of the first troubadours and the first trouvères whose compositions have been preserved for us in the MSS., two musical styles existed side by side in France. The first, by origin and intention liturgical, comprises the rich store of old Gregorian melodies, unfolded day by day throughout the revolving year in monasteries and cathedrals. But at the time of which we write, the Gregorian melody is not yet a dead language, conserved by custom or tradition. New Saints enrolled in the calendar of this or that church, necessitate new services;

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so we find, in all quarters of Christian France, the adoption of *propres* (*propriae;* that is, special prayers peculiar to one particular diocese), and even the composition of Alleluias, responses and anthems for general Church Festivals. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, therefore, liturgical music, far from having exhausted the vital sources of its inspiration, both preserves its heritage of ancient Gregorian melodies and produces new works for enhancing the splendour of its services. This form of art illustrates the traditional tendency; the latter conserves from the past a faithful conformance to the eight ecclesiastical modes, and that elastic rhythm known during the centuries of its formation and in the time of Gregory the Great, the rhythm of the liturgical chants; Guido's notation and its neumes being henceforward transplanted to the four lines of the stave.

But side by side with this liturgical music, this art-manifestation so deeply impressed with the seal of the Church, there existed, its origin difficult to define, but probably very ancient, a mundane product, secular music. A few scattered relics of the profane music of the tenth and eleventh centuries have come down to our time, consisting of ballads, love-songs, war-songs and drinking-songs. The notation is in neumes, and as we have no stave transcriptions, their precise meaning is impossible to define. By the time staff-notation comes into general use we are in the middle of the twelfth century, the period of the early troubadours and trouvères, *William of Aquitaine*, *Blondel de Nesle*, and *Gautier*

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d'Épinal; this explains our meagre knowledge of secular tunes before the troubadour period, and our incomplete comprehension of those which have survived. Lyrical writers are, therefore, the direct heirs of an ancient line of nameless poet-musicians who supplied secular compositions to meet a secular need, the Church having its own musicians and poets for the requirements of its ceremonies.

Secular composers adopted a style quite different from that of the Church composers. The free rhythm of the latter assumed a definite shape as soon melodies had to be fitted to metrical lines (in Latin or in the vernacular) instead of the Latin prose of the Church. The doctrine of the eight modes still continued, but in secular compositions became greatly modified by the innovations of *musica ficta*, which substituted a leading-note (*F* sharp or *C* sharp) at the end of a phrase where a whole tone would have been used by the ancient system of modes. Finally, after the middle of the thirteenth century, the 'measured' notation, which had hitherto retained an outward resemblance to ecclesiastical notation, asserted its independence, and by distinguishing the different values of notes by writing them as longs, breves and semibreves, lent to the written signs for ligatures or groups of notes a rigorously precise significance; all quite foreign to liturgical writing.

And now for a rapid survey of the various styles in 'measured' and extra-liturgical composition between the end of the twelfth and the early years of the fourteenth

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centuries. First of all, note the troubadours and trouvères, melodic writers pure and simple; since the present treatise is devoted to them, they are mentioned here merely to place them historically. About this period harmonic writers began to adopt conscious and definite forms of musical composition; just as in our time a composition master instructs a pupil in, say, the tonality of a sonata, so, at the time of which we write, inspiration was not allowed to roam at will: music as an art and a science had its fixed rules, its forms of style and composition, the three principal forms being the *organum*, the *conductus*, and the *motet*.

The *organum* is peculiarly a part of musical history: on a melodic theme from the liturgical repertoire, which serves for *canto fermo*, the musician—or, to give him his proper name, the *déchanteur* (descanter)—writes a melodic development: this is *organum duplum*. The addition of another part above makes *organum triplum*, and *quadruplum* when three parts are superimposed. Contemporary writers recognise several kinds of *organum*, but all adhere to the invariable principle of a counterpoint to a plain-song. It is a natural supposition that these compositions were intended for use in worship side by side with the true liturgical music: but, being always tainted with secularity, they were viewed with suspicion by the clergy and finally fell into disuse.

The *conductus* and *motet* belong to both literary and musical history, being always accompanied by a poetical text, in Latin or in the vernacular.

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The *conductus* is a composition for one, two, three or four voices on a poem, with similar or with varying verses, that is to say, the music may either repeat or change with each verse; in any case, the music must be the actual original work of the composer, owing nothing to the ecclesiastical repertoire.

The *motet* is a composition in which, as in the *organum*, one, two or three independent melodies are imposed on a given theme, called the *tenor*. But, while the *organum* had no text, each of the added parts in the motet had words, and very often different words for each voice. We even find one voice singing in Latin and another in the vulgar tongue! The middle ages were not at all dismayed by such oddities. We may add that it is tolerably certain that the tenor part in motets was played on instruments, *vièle*, *giga* or *rebec*.

We have a great number of these polyphonic compositions, preserved in collections of what contemporaries called *discantuum volumina*, the most famous being that at the Laurentine Library in Florence.[1] It has been named, after its most illustrious owner, the *Antiphonaire de Pierre de Médicis*. This manuscript, the most important relic of medieval polyphonic music, begins with a collection of pieces in *organum* style, for two, three and four voices; these compositions are arranged in the order of the liturgical year, a sufficiently convincing proof that they were destined for religious use. Then come *conductus* and *motets;* this manuscript

[1] Florence, Pluteus XXIX, 1.

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contains none but Latin texts. For examples in the vulgar tongue one must consult other codices, like the Montpellier[1] manuscript, or that in the Bamberg Library.[2] The Florence Antiphonarium closes with a series of compositions not hitherto mentioned, namely *rondelli* (rondels), a very popular from of writing in medieval times.

These musical forms are characteristic of their time, and have not survived, with the exception of the motet; by the end of Saint Louis' (Louis IX) reign, both *organum* and *conductus* were obsolete. The motet fared better, but subsisted only by means of transformation, and after the closing years of the thirteenth century was modified considerably, entering upon a new phase of its history.

Such were the styles contemporary with the melodies of the troubadours and trouvères. A musical work is, therefore, no mere chance product in the thirteenth century, and the art of the troubadours and the trouvères is certainly not a negligible or unimportant chapter in the history of French music. It represents a century and a half of uninterrupted fertility; between Blondel de Nesle and Guillaume de Machaut (or Machau), the immediate follower of the trouvère age, lies a chasm of years almost as wide as that which separates Bach from

[1] Montpellier, University Library, H. 196.

[2] Bamberg, Stiftsbibliothek, Ed. IV. 6. Published by the author under the title of *Cent Motets du* XIIIe *siècle*, in facsimile, with a transcription, and accompanied by a critical study, in the publications of the *Société Internationale de Musique*. (Paris, Geuthner, 1908.)

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ourselves. Nay, further, I maintain that this chapter of history is, chronologically, the first chapter of French music, and that, though certain liturgical composers were born on the soil of the Capet kingdom, they do not show such a marked national character as the troubadours and trouvères. They belong to the church, and it is for the Church that they compose; their works are appropriate to all Christian worship; their ideals overpass the limits of their own province, even those of France itself, and are found wherever man believes and worships. The troubadours and trouvères, on the other hand, depend on an inspiration that is essentially French, unsophisticated and generous: their art is of the aristocracy, yet closely in touch with the people. In short, these medieval masters of melody are the direct forerunners of our modern melodists, Adam, Hérold, Auber and Ambroise Thomas; and just as these latter composers charmed our parents and grandparents, so did the troubadours and trouvères minister to the amusement of those of our ancestors who were their contemporaries.

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II

HOW THE MELODIES OF THE TROUBADOURS AND TROUVÈRES HAVE COME DOWN TO US

Since the beginning of the sixteenth century, a work in manuscript is in a merely provisional state; engraver or printer awaits the composition of a musician to diffuse hundreds and thousands of copies throughout the artistic world. But with the Troubadours and Trouvères the case was different; written before the invention of printing, their compositions remained in manuscript form, and for the considerable quantity known to us to-day we are indebted to the patient industry of thirteenth and fourteenth-century scribes. Elaborate manuscripts for the desk of a manorial library, or very modest ones for the wandering jongleur's wallet, all, great or small, now housed in libraries or museums, have preserved for us the inexhaustible treasure of medieval melody.[1]

But this lovely garden has a closed door. The compositions of the past are not for the general public, nor even for the musician, of to-day; for the interpretation of these melodies, so simple, so light, so spontaneous,

[1] See Bibliography.

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demands a combination of attainments not only diverse but sufficiently specialised to discourage the primitive curiosity which gazes, but lingers not. The task is troublesome enough to baffle scholars familiar with medieval musicology, who have encountered unsurmountable obstacles in their research, and have had to discard as untenable many solutions as soon as established. Besides a knowledge of paleography, Gothic script and abbreviations in the texts, one must be intimately acquainted with the old French of the North and South, that is, with the language of the old lyrical poets. Besides a knowledge of the technicalities of medieval as well as of modern music, one must be well acquainted with the ecclesiastical modes, to bring them into line with *musica ficta*, where necessary. In fact, one must master the principles of the theorists of the period and be quite familiar with the *ars mensurabilis;* and this cannot be accomplished in a day.

We shall not be understood without an illustration, in facsimile, of a page from these manuscripts,[1] taken from a French manuscript in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (847, folio 5, rect°). This is a small manuscript made at the end of the thirteenth century, the original measuring 19 x 23 centimètres. It contains the melody and first verses of a song by the trouvère Gace Brulé.

Se] j'ai esté lonc tens fors du pais
Ou je lessai la riens que plus amoie,
De maint ennui ai puis esté servis
Et eschapez de perilleuse voie.

[1] Facing page 20

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(I have been a long time out of the country
Where I left the thing I loved best;
Many's the trial that I endured
And the perilous venture that I escaped.)

All these manuscript song-books have common characteristics. The first verse only has notation, the others being sung to the same tune. The stave is mostly of four lines in red ink; the clef (generally the *C*-clef, sometimes the *F*), is placed at the head of each stave on any line required by the exigencies of the melody; it should be stated that these clefs are in the old form, a C for *do*, an F for *fa*. The notes, as can be seen in the facsimile, are always square, with a small downward tail on the right.

Ligatures are combinations of notes grouped into one figure, being sung on a single syllable. In the time of the troubadours and trouvères several different types of ligature are found for the same kind of passage; these differences are not important, but it is advisable to note carefully the diversities of these ligatures after the reforms of Franco of Cologne, a celebrated master of *ars mensurabilis*, at the close of the thirteenth century.

A flat is often added to the note *B*, more rarely to *E*. A sharp (formed like the modern natural) is used with *F*, and sometimes with *C*.

Rests are represented by vertical lines intersecting one, two or three lines of the stave, according to need.

Such is the notation of the majority of these manuscripts. It has this grave defect, that the method of writing gives no indication of rhythm, all the notes

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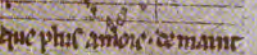
cyrant · Ie mos bien tan
ner en chantant quame
nuit li loiaumente n ama
ne son ser uise ne n ploa
en li sage ne n li vaillã.

du pul on ne lesan larriens

que plus amoie · de mame

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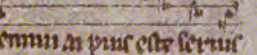
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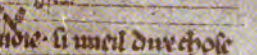
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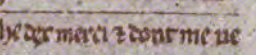
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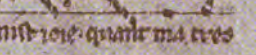
nist ioie · quant ma tres

douce amie m uoie · Ie
me plaing mie du debo
nere nus · du biau semblã
que trouuer uoloie · este
me fist tant quele mour
bien pus · par tramblon qui
ueille z montraie · ma
ser chose que dure uoleiu
ie · car an lonc tens este
Ales pensus · ou grieu mes
chaus con ne sent nus · z tor
per dron se ore li faillone ·

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being similar, even the ligatures varying in significance; but there is a definite rhythm, though it requires bringing to light. This is the rock that wrecked the efforts of explorers before the time of Dr. Hugo Riemann; our better knowledge of to-day has removed this obstacle, and we can push forward our studies undeterred by the prospect of fresh hindrances.

The songs are usually classified by authors, the trouvère's name being often found in the margin. But there are exceptions, as in the Bibliothèque Nationale MS. 846, where the pieces are arranged according to the first word of the first verse, more or less alphabetically. There is no other classification in the majority of cases, all the songs being jumbled together without distinction of style. This order (classification by name) and this disorder (confusion of styles) reveal the circumstances under which these collections of songs were formed. They are anthologies compiled by thirteenth-century copyists from older volumes of the lyrical works of individual trouvères; such is the explanation of this lack of system in the song-books which have come down to us. On the other hand, the poet varied the subjects, but not the form of his compositions. The thirteenth century, apart from the rondel, knew nothing of pieces in set form, highly characteristic of the following century and the works of Guillem de Machaut or Philip de Vitry; though perhaps it would be more true to say that the thirteenth century knew and employed a musical type nearly fixed in form—the *chanson*. But though its structure may not be

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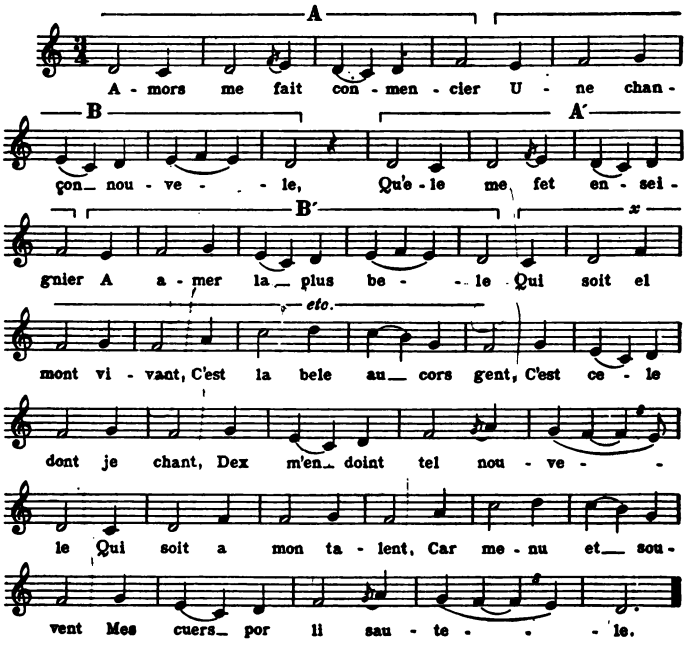
absolutely definite, one can easily trace the observance of a tendency generally adopted. The following is a type of trouvère composition.[1]



(Love makes me begin a new song,
Because it taught me
To love the most beautiful lady
In the whole world;
It is the fair one of beauteous form,
It is of her that I sing;
God give me such news of her
As I desire,
For quickly and often
My heart leaps at the thought of her.)

[1]This is a song by the King of Navarre, preserved in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal (Chansonnier manuscript 5198, folio 12).

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Here is seen a melodic phrase made up of two sub-phrases (*distinctions*) A + B. This melodic phrase is repeated (A′ + B′), then carried on by a variable number of free melodic phrases (*x*), constituting the musical development of the initial theme. Thus the common type of troubadour or trouvère song resolves itself into this formula:

A B A′ B′ *x*

But this formula is capable of infinite variants; the first part of the verse can be so modified as to give the initial melodic phrase three, or four, sub-phrases. Thus we get:

A B C A′ B′ C′ *x*
A B C D A′ B′ C′ D′ *x*

Or, again, a sub-phrase can be repeated within the musical phrase itself, forming this type:

A A B A′ A′ B′ *x*

We need not further discuss these details, for the variations are almost endless, especially if we include their possible combinations with *x* in the free development-section. It is here that the author displays his ingenuity. Except when resetting an existing work, a trouvère was not allowed to adopt a formula already used by him or others. This of course complicated the poet's task to a curious and quite needless extent, but the medieval mind delighted in such childish difficulties. And after all, a very slight modification sufficed to secure

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the necessary differentiation, as, for example, the employment of novel rhymes: individuality could be claimed at this small cost.

But the true individuality, the quality we treasure, was something quite different. It was, and still is, in the inspiration which prompted the poet to write. The troubadours and trouvères sang principally of courtly love, a sentiment so abstract as to be barely intelligible to the vulgar; but happily their choice of subject is wider; religious feeling, the fanaticism of the crusades, the delights of spring, all these are echoed or reflected in their poems.

At one time, it is the trouvère speaking for himself, or discussing and arguing with disputant or objector, and we have a *tenson* (argument or contest) or a *jeu-parti* (dialogue); or he is a friend keeping watch over two lovers, and we have a *chanson d'aube* (Alba, or dawn-song); or there is the lament, sung by a woman at her daily occupation, chiefly spinning, hence called a *chanson de toile* (spinning-song); or it is a shepherd who is the principal figure, in which case the song is called a *pastourelle* (pastoral); nor are these all, for besides religious songs and dancing-songs, songs showing subtle transitions from the former to the latter are numerous.

This brings us to the very heart of the subject; before discussing the troubadour and trouvère as men, let us study them as they reveal themselves in their works.

A rough classification will not be out of place here; this has already been made by several writers, but in a

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book where the results of scholarly research must be touched upon very lightly, we may content ourselves with a few simple statements and pass quickly over purely literary considerations in order to examine at leisure facts bearing on the history of music.

As to the origin of the French lyrical poetry of the middle ages the reader is referred to Gaston Paris' famous treatise;[1] it is to the old popular songs inspired by May-day revels, the Calends of May, the *maieroles*, the *calendas maias* of the troubadours, that we must turn for the source of all lyrical styles, spinning-songs, dancing-songs, spring songs, pastorals, and also, to a certain extent, courtly poesy. We can easily trace in all these compositions the reflection or echo of the early inspiration of primitive times. Gaston Paris has very skilfully arrayed his evidence in support of his hypothesis; let us accept his conclusion—for it is simple, and shows what dainty little products were the songs of the troubadours and trouvères—without attempting to disparage the delicate fancy of the authors, or rub the bloom off these flowers of their creation. Some scholars, especially foreign enthusiasts, crush the frail life out of our ancient poetry with the weight of their ponderous learning on the plea of preserving it, just as men will bury an ancient fresco with a thick coating of paint to stay the ravages of exposure; but Gaston Paris was not one of these.

[1] G. Paris, *Les Origines de la poésie lyrique au moyen âge.*—Paris, 1892. (From the *Journal des Savants*, November and December, 1891, March and July, 1892.)

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And now to classify the songs—as thankless a task as the classification of butterflies! A few learned terms will tell all we know and save further discussion. There are, we are told, the *objective* style, where the heroes of song occupy the principal place, and the *subjective*, where the poet speaks for himself. This is true enough, but it is equally correct, and less abstract, to say that all objective songs are in essence personal songs, and that the subjective kinds are simply an infinitely varied development of the principles of courtly love, that psychology peculiar to men of gentle breeding in the middle ages; the subjective styles find complete expression in *la poésie courtoise* (courtly poesy).

Yet some historians have formulated a geographical standard for the classification of lyrical styles; they speak of lyrical poetry purely French and lyrical poetry of Provençal origin. In the former category Gaston Paris places historical ballads, rondels, estampies (see page 40) and pastorals; on the other hand, Provençal inspiration pervades all courtly poesy. Whatever theory we favour, and whatever be our point of view when entering on the study of medieval poetry, we find that all these compositions divide into two main groups capable of subdivision, and may take the following table as our starting-point in this study of the work of troubadours and trouvères.

A. La Chanson à Personnages. (Character song.)
1. Chansons d'histoire (ballads).
2. Chansons dramatiques (dramatic songs).

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3. Chansons de danse (dance-songs).
4. Reverdies (Spring songs).
5. Pastourelles (pastorals).
6. Chansons d'aube (Albas. Dawn-songs, serenades).

B. La Poésie courtoise. (Courtly Poesy.)

1. Chansons courtoises (courtly songs, songs of homage).
2. Jeux-partis (dialogues).

With *Chansons courtoises* may be included:

C. Religious Songs.

Though the link is very slender, the inspiration is the same, and the same vocabulary serves for the poetic expression of the most worldly and the most sacred love.

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III

THE VARIOUS CLASSES OF LYRICAL POETRY

A. La Chanson à Personnages

1. les chansons d'histoire (*Ballads*)

These are fragments of narrative or epic poetry, put into lyrical form in the twelfth century. The middle ages called these songs *chansons d'histoire* (ballads, or songs with a tale or legend) because of this narrative element, just as the *chansons de toile* (spinning-songs) were so named from the principal character, generally a woman at her work, or from being sung by women at the spinning-wheel. In any case, the *chansons d'histoire* are undoubtedly the earliest specimens of lyrical work preserved in the song-books; they date back to the middle of the twelfth century. They are all written in the *langue d'oïl* (the language of Northern France) and anonymous: the metre is still that of the *chanson de geste* (ballad of romance and chivalry) rather than of true lyrical verse; and rhyme has not yet displaced the primitive assonance. The subject is an anecdote, or a miniature love-drama served up in medieval fashion; the intense effect results from simplicity of means rather than from conscious and subtle skill. Unfortunately,

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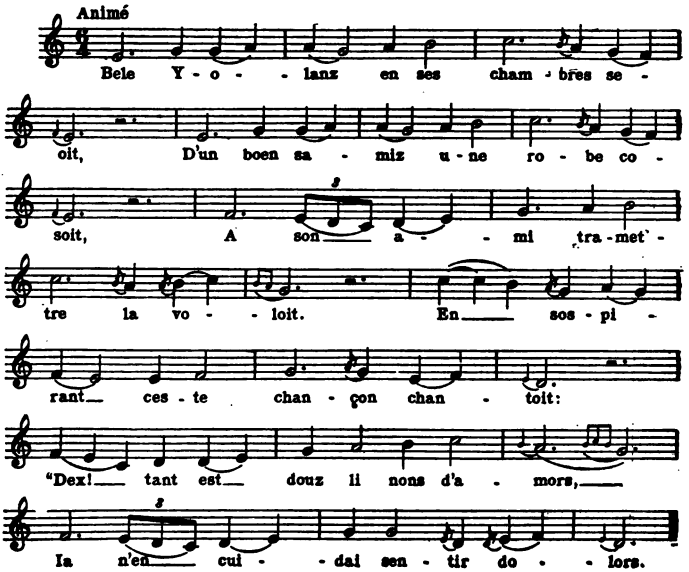
compared with the number that must have been written, very few are extant. These have been published by Bartsch, and one is given here as edited by him;[1] needless to say, the learned scholar neglected the musical element in the pieces he edited; the melodies, therefore, now reappear for the first time, after seven centuries of oblivion.[2]



[1] Karl Bartsch, *Altfranzösische Romanzen und Pastourellen.* Leipzig, 1870.

[2] The ballad of Belle Yolanz is in the Bibliothèque Nationale (ms. franç. 20050, fol. 64.) The manuscript has been published in facsimile by the Société des Anciens textes français (1892). The literary text has been edited by K. Bartsch, *Romanzen*, p. 10. See, also, Georg Schläger's *Über Musik und Strophenbau der französischen Romanzen*, p. 4. Halle, 1900: 8vo.

(See, however, Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la Chanson Populaire en France* (Paris, Heugel, 1889), page 414, where it is noted in duple time. TRANSLATOR.)

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II

"Bels douz amis, or vos voil envoier
Une robe par mout grant amistié.
Por Deu vos pri, de moi aiez pitié !"
Ne pot ester, a la terre s'assiet.
Dex, tant est douz li nons d'amors :
Ja n'en cuidai sentir dolors.

III

A ces paroles et a ceste raison
Li siens amis entra en la maison.
Cele lo vit, si bassa lo menton,
Ne pot parler, ne li dist o ne non.
Dex, tant est douz li nons d'amors :
Ja n'en cuidai sentir dolors.

. . . . . .

IV

Li siens amis entre ses braz la prent,
En un biau lit s'asient seulement :
Bele Yolanz lo baise estroitement,
A tor françois en mi lo lit l'estent.
Dex, tant est douz li nons d'amors :
Ja n'en cuidai sentir dolors.

BELLE YOLANZ

I

Fair Yolanz sat in her chamber;
Weaving a robe of fine silk;
She wished to send it to her lover.
Sighing she sang this song:
"God! so sweet is the name of love,
I never thought to feel its pains.

II

"Dear, sweet friend, I fain would send you
A robe, out of very great friendship;
By heaven I pray you, have pity upon me!"
She could not stand, she sank to the ground.
God! so sweet, etc.

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III

At these words, and at this speech,
Her true love entered the house;
She saw him, her head (*lit.* chin) drooped,
She could not speak, nor said him yea nor nay.
God! so sweet, etc.

IV

Her true love took her in his arms,
They sat alone upon a fair couch,
Fair Yolanz kissed him passionately;
. . . . . .
God! so sweet, etc.

The principal character is these songs is invariably a woman. M. Jeanroy, in a well-known book[1] which we shall have to quote frequently, says, "In some of the later songs, the ill-mated wife has already made her appearance. In the chivalrous setting affected by this kind of poetry, we are introduced to daughters of kings and emperors, married to villeins or at least to husbands beneath their own rank. But, most frequently, the heroines are girls placed in precisely the situations previously discussed:—generally cherishing a passion thwarted by their relatives, or occasionally pining for a distant lover. Sometimes the lover does not return, and the maid seeks the seclusion of a convent; in many of the songs the deserted mistress bears a child to the runaway, though occasionally the lover comes back and hero and heroine renew their early passion:

"Lors recommencent lors premieres amores."

The women are all beautiful ("Fair Erembors," "Fair Aiglantine," "Fair Doette," "Fair Yzabel," "Fair Yo-

[1] A. Jeanroy, *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France en moyen âge*, p. 218. Paris, 1889: 8vo.

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lanz," "Fair Amelot,") and all unhappy. Their husbands are either monsters or clowns, whose one method of ensuring a wife's devotion is corporal punishment; equally undeserving of sympathy are the mothers, spoken of as "la male mere" (the cruel mother); even the lovers are strangely contemptuous and well calculated to repel the fiery passions of their mistresses. These types serve as a foil to the sweet and charming heroine: she is 'made to please,' thus enabling all womankind to flatter themselves at their resemblance, greater or less, to Doette, Aiglantine, or Yolanz. We may, therefore, accept the view of certain authors, that these ballads were intended to be sung by women in their chambers, during the long hours of leisure which their feudal state imposed on them;—by the châtelaine or by the ladies of the household while the men were away hunting or crusading, or by women and girls working together at tapestry or some other feminine occupation. One would sing the verse, and the remainder would take up the refrain, thus relieving the tedium of time and labour. The *chansons d'histoire* are women's songs, blossoms that deck the feminine *sanctum*.

2. LES CHANSONS DRAMATIQUES. (*Dramatic Ballads.*)

This appellation (M. Jeanroy's) is correct in the sense that the *chansons dramatiques* introduce three characters, the husband, the wife and the lover, the wife being the most prominent, though not necessarily the most ex-

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emplary personage. These little pieces form no school of morality; they are so ingenuous, and reveal such a total disregard of social prejudices, that our inability to trace the authorship in many cases has enabled some misogynist critics to suggest that the authors were really women. The central idea is the ill-mated wife; an immortal theme, infinitely varied in folk-lore of all ages and countries. But, as has been shrewdly remarked,[1] while popular songs on ill-assorted marriages are invariably satirical, ridiculing husband, wife and all concerned alike, the medieval composition is avowedly cynical and immoral, and the husband is made a laughing-stock simply because he is the husband. We can appreciate the candour of the bride who shamelessly cries:

Honis soit maris ki dure plus d'un mois![2]

At first, the ill-mated wife relates her troubles in secret, behind her husband's back, when she is with other women, or with her lover, perhaps. But this can last only for a time; sooner or later, the crash comes.

One fine day, the presence of the "villain" (the husband) brings her resentment to a crisis, and, throwing all prudence to the winds, the ill-mated wife blurts out the truth in her husband's face. Poor man! Will he ever hear himself so abused or accused again? He is prematurely old, stingy to avarice, and, worst of all, a

[1] Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 89.

[2] "A plague on the husband who lasts longer than a month!" Bartsch, II, 27.

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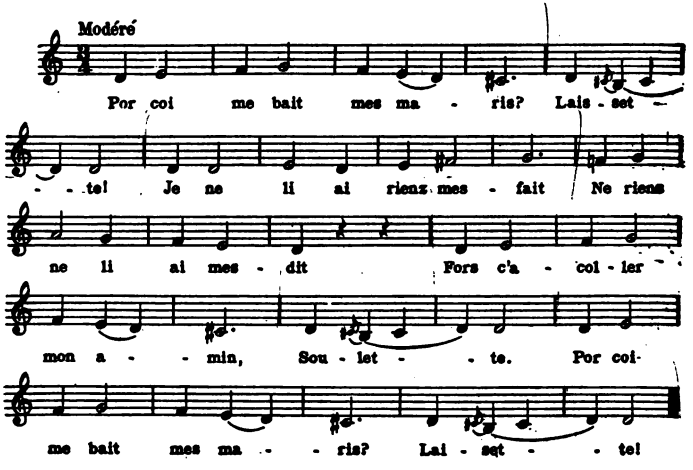
victim to jealousy, a fault quite unpardonable in the middle ages. The moral code of these poems enables a woman to forgive her husband everything—no great sacrifice, seeing that the lover has appeared—except jealousy, a most disturbing impediment to her extra-conjugal happiness.

Bartsch has published a considerable number of these ballads on ill-assorted marriages.[1]

The accompanying melodies only serve to heighten their attractiveness; I quote a characteristic example. The words and music have come down to us in two distinct manuscripts; in a work published some years ago[2] a collation of the two manuscripts enabled me to reconstitute the song in its entirety.



[1] Bartsch, *Romanzen*, I, 21, 23, 25, 36, 38, 46, 48, 69, etc.

[2] P. Aubry, *Recherches sur les ténors français dans les motets du treizième siècle.* Paris, 1907: 8vo, pp. 35 *et seq.*

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II

Et c'il ne mi lait durier
Ne bone vie meneir,
Je lou ferai cous clamier,
A certes.
Por coi me bait mes maris?
Laisette !

III

Or sai bien que je ferai
Et coment m'an vangerai :
Avec mon amin geirai,
Nuette.
Por coi me bait mes maris?
Laisette!

I

(Why does my husband beat me?
Unhappy one!
I have done him no harm,
Nor spoken any ill of him,
Except to embrace my lover
In secret.
Why does my husband beat me?
Unhappy one!

II

If he does not let me rest
And lead a happy life,
I shall make a complaint of him,
For certain.
Why does my husband beat me?
Unhappy one!

III

Now I know what to do
And how to avenge myself;
I shall find consolation
With my lover.
Why does my husband beat me?
Unhappy one!)

Another favourite character in medieval poetry is the young nun weary of religious seclusion and eager to

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escape from the convent. Ribaldry delights in such a topic, and the songs of this kind are generally rounded off with the familiar burden:

> Je sent les douls mals leis ma senturete :
> Malois soit de Dieu ki me fist nonnete![1]
>
> (My girdle hides an aching heart;[2]
> A plague on God who made me nun!)

The nun yearning for freedom is a variant of the ill-mated wife, the taking of the veil being likened to marriage and the church to the husband.

One feels that here is an abuse of the *libertas maia* ("spring license") so dear to Gaston Paris and, according to him, the privileged companion of the glorious springtime. But it is a natural product, and the charm of these songs is but a reflection of the turbulent and licentious *abandon* of springtime festivals. The prim gentility of modern critics may pause disarmed, consoled by the fact that even contemporaries did not take the heroines of these miniature dramas very seriously.

3. LES CHANSONS DE DANSE. (*Dancing-Songs.*)

A short time since, within the last two or three years, our historical knowledge of dancing in the middle ages was almost nil; apparently, the high-priests of scholarship and research could not lower themselves to the study of dances, dancing-girls, and their art. To-day our information is less meagre. Philologians have classified

[1] Bartsch, *Romanzen*, I, 33. See also I, 34.

[2] *Lit.* I feel the sweet pains (of love) beneath my girdle.

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some fragments of texts, illuminating a corner of twelfth and thirteenth-century literature which has hitherto lain in obscurity. Others have offered hypotheses, no less ingenious than welcome, explaining many songs otherwise unintelligible by reconstructing them as mime plays for several characters. I myself have collected and published the earliest examples of instrumental music in the middle ages, written for the instrument known as the *vièle* or *vielle* in the thirteenth century; these prove to be dancing-tunes as well, called, in the manuscript which has preserved them, *estampies* and *danses royales*.[1]

Still, this is but slight material for the reconstruction of an art of which we know nothing else! The medieval dance probably possessed none of the infinitely expressive grace or studied pose of the ancient dance, nor does it appear to have approached the style or technical perfection of the modern dance. In point of fact, I fancy it was rather uncouth and clumsy, but it is certain that in the time of the trouvères, as in that of the great lyric poets of Greece, dancing was associated with two other forms of the active arts, music and poetry. We can well imagine how some of these songs, cold and lifeless to-day in their shroud of manuscript, were sung by the contemporaries of Saint Louis while enacting little dancing scenes, *rondels*, *caroles*, and *baleries*. Nor does the dance appear to have been the monopoly of the professional merry-andrew, the aristocratic pastime of

[1] Published by the author under this title, *Estampies et danses royales* (Paris, Fischbacher, 1906), transcribed in modern notation, with the original text in facsimile.

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the *grand seigneur*, or the delight of the privileged few; on the contrary, the taste for dancing was generally diffused and deeply rooted among all classes. A conclusion so obvious needs no emphasis, save to recall the growls of pious moralists and the strange metaphor of a thirteenth-century preacher, Jacques de Vitry, who tells us that a woman who leads the dance is the devil's bell-wether and guides the satanic shepherd to her companions!

These *chansons de danse* compel us once more to accept the theory of Gaston Paris, since they give the clearest possible corroboration of his conclusions. He writes, "On the first day of spring, and particularly on May-day, not only was there a May-quest in the woods, where the revellers dressed themselves in foliage and loaded themselves with flowers for the adornment of the lintels, but young girls and young women tripped their rounds on the sprouting grass as if (so to say) performing ritual rites."[1]

These May-day dances beneath the blossoming trees seem to me a primitive stage of development. There were, of course, more complicated forms; I can fancy a second stage, where festival gatherings are held on the village green. The final type in this evolution would be aristocratic dances in the manorial castle; at the conclusion of this summary we shall venture to attend one of these gatherings as uninvited guests.

[1] Gaston Paris, *Origines*, p. 49.

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The medievals danced to the sound of instruments, and also to songs. Internal evidence, afforded by the compositions themselves, enables us to draw distinctions and analyse instrumental and vocal dances respectively.

a. Dancing was Accompanied by Instruments.

Before the publication of *Estampies et danses royales*,[1] the value of such a statement would have possessed a purely artistic or literary, and from a scientific or critical point of view, a wholly problematical interest. But these precious and picturesque documents are most interesting and instructive; they are the earliest examples known of instrumental music, properly so called, in the middle ages, and are, moreover, designed expressly for dancing. Written as instrumental music, the *estampies* were meant to be played by jongleurs on the *vièle;* and we know that the medieval *vièle* is one of the instruments whose line, during the course of centuries, was continued in the family of the viols in the Renaissance period, and thereafter by the modern violin. Both the number and tuning of the strings varied in this instrument, rendered fairly familiar to us through its representation on miniatures and monuments, and by the numerous editions of the works of an early fourteenth-century theorist, Jerome of Moravia. The historian of music cannot fail to observe that the composition of these dance-tunes was dominated by the observance of a fixed form. An instrumental *estampie* was made up of a certain number

[1] See above, page 37.

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of musical phrases called *puncta* (plural of *punctum*), each twice repeated, the endings (and this applied to all the *puncta* of any particular piece) being named *ouvert* for the first repeat, and *clos* for the second. A course of musical composition in a thirteenth-century university or school of minstrelsy, had such existed, would most certainly have included the study of the *estampie*.[1]

Being written for dancing, these *estampies* were actually danced, and the etymology of the word will convince the skeptical that this was so. The old Provençal form, *estampida*, is the participle of a verb *estamper*, or *estampir*, to strike with the foot or stamp. (Old Germanic *stamfon*, and modern German *stampfen*.) The *estampie*, then, would be, primarily, a dance in which the accent was marked by a tap of the foot, this characteristic feature giving the name to the dance. Did the medievals possess a technique of dancing? Can we reconstruct from their pictures and monuments the elements of a medieval orchestic, as a contemporary Hellenist and musician, M. Emmanuel, has so successfully done for Greek antiquity?[2] It is quite possible, although research has not even begun, but a musical treatise should not concern itself with the problems of chorography. Apart from professional technique, the texts of the compositions enable us to form a general idea

[1] The student of thirteenth-century dances is referred to the author's work mentioned on page 37, quotation being impossible here.

[2] M. Emmanuel, *Essai sur l'Orchestique grecque*. D. Litt. thesis, Paris, 1895; 8vo.

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of the movements and evolutions with which medievals amused themselves in their little *baleries* and *caroles*.

We must picture to ourselves a chain (continuous or broken) of girls and men dancing. The usual procedure is an alternation of three steps and a halt on one foot. We shall see later how the combination of the musical rhythm with the poetry results often, though not invariably, in a melodic phrase of four bars, sometimes iambic, sometimes trochaic, and sometimes dactylic. In the present case, taking the spring at the beginning of a step as coinciding with the downbeat of a bar, we get three springs, three steps, three bars, with the halt on the fourth bar and on the pause at the end of the verse. This reconstruction is based on the combination of two factors, and the conclusion offered is, of course, no more than conjecture.

We must not leave the instrumental *estampie* without recalling that there was, at the same period, a vocal *estampie*, leading to the dance set to song. Some of these are very pretty; one is particularly interesting, for it has a little history well worth recording.[1]

The poet Rambaut de Vaqueiras, whose productive period is embraced between 1180-1207, was, his biographers say, the son of a poor gentleman named Peirol, attached to the castle of Vaqueiras and supposed to be mad. After being in the service of William of Baux, Prince of Orange, no doubt as a jongleur, Rambaut betook

[1] The text will be found in Fol. 62 of Fr. MS. 22543, in the Bibliothèque Nationale. We have adopted the text in M. Appel's *Chrestomathie provençale*, p. 89. Leipzig, 1895; 8vo.

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himself to the court of Boniface II of Montferrat, where he was unlucky enough to fall in love with the marquis's sister, Beatrice, the wife of the Lord of Savona. She returned his love, and their passion seemed to be an ideal theme for the traditional ballad; all went as well as possible, until the lovers' happiness roused the envy of the *losengiers* (parasites), the gossips of medieval literature, who heckled the Lady Beatrice thus: "*Qui est aquest Raimbautz de Vaqueiras? Si tot lo marques l'a fait cavalier, sapchatz que non es onors ni a vos ni al marques.*" (Who is this Rambaut de Vaqueiras? Although your brother the Marquis has made a knight of him, you must see, Madame, that it reflects credit neither upon the Marquis nor on yourself.) Discretion being the first principle of courtly love in the middle ages, Lady Beatrice concluded that Rambaut had been boasting, so the gallant jongleur received an angry dismissal. No more songs! No more love-meetings! Rambaut became taciturn and moody.

One of the oldest manuscripts that give the biography of the poet relates the sequel. At about this time there came to the court of the Marquis two French jongleurs, skilful performers on the viële. On one occasion they played an *estampida*, greatly to the delight of the marquis and the knights and ladies. But Sire Rambaut showed so little pleasure in the performance that the Marquis noticed it. "Come, my Lord Rambaut," he cried, "can you not sing, can you not be merrier to such a pretty tune, seeing that you have beside you so lovely a woman

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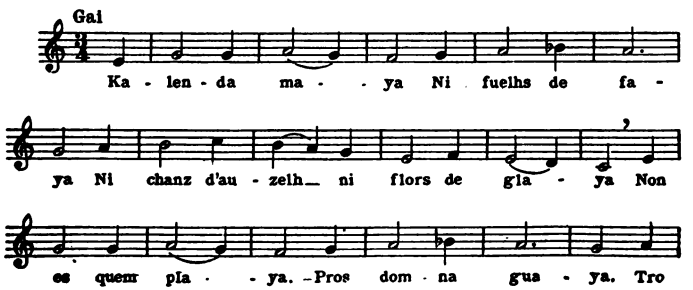
as my sister, who admits you to her circle and is the most valiant lady in Christendom?" Rambaut replied with a refusal. The marquis, well acquainted with the state of affairs, turned to his sister and said: "Madame Beatrice, for love of myself and the company, prithee beg of Rambaut, by your love and courtesy, to join in the song and recover his old gaiety!"

And Madame Beatrice was sufficiently courtly and generous to beg Rambaut to take heart of grace, and, for love of her, to throw off his dismal looks and compose a new song. With this persuasion Rambaut made an *estampida* in the following terms (*don Raimbautz per aquesta razon que vos avetz ausit, fetz la stampida que dis aisi*):

Kalenda maia,
Ni flor de faia,
Ni cant d'ausell...

And the biographer adds: "This *estampida* was made to the air of the *estampida* which the jongleurs played on their *viële*" (*aquesta 'stampida fo facha a las notas de la 'stampida quel joglar fasion en las violas*).



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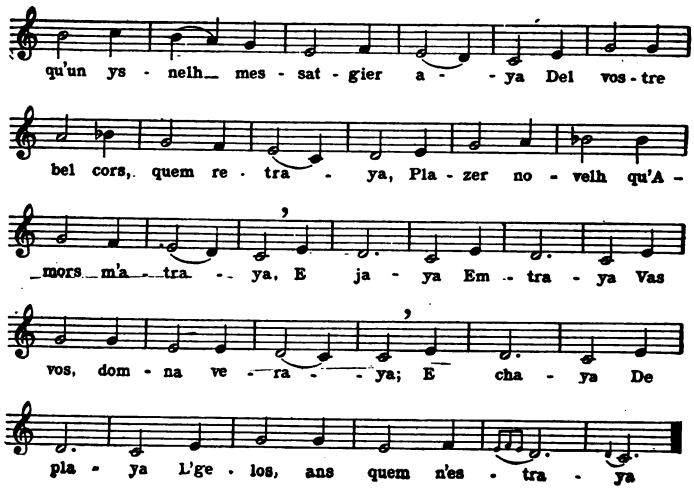

II

Ma belh' amia,
Per Dieu no sia
Que jal gelos de mon dan ria;
Que car vendria
Sa gelozia
Si aitals dos amans partia;
Qu'ieu ja joyos mais no seria
Ni joys ses vos pro nom tenria;
Tal via
Faria
Qu'om ja mais nom veiria.
Selh dia
Morria,
Donna pros, qu'ieus perdria.

III

Quo m'er perduda
Ni m'er renduda
Dona, s'enans non l'ai aguda?
Que drutz ni druda
Non es per cuda;
Mas quant amans en drut se muda,

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L'onors es grans queylh n'es creguda.
El belh semblans fai far tal bruda;
Que nuda
Tenguda
Nous ai ni d'als vencuda;
Volguda
Crezuda
Vos ai ses autr' ajuda.[1]
. . . . . .

That is the story; the essential point, musicologically, is that the words of *Kalenda maia* were written by Rambaut de Vaqueiras to an instrumental melody.

b. THE SONGS WERE DANCED.

This form of art combined three elements, music, poetry and dancing. It introduced a protagonist, or principal singer (male or female), and a chorus. This combination required a certain amount of organisation, to prevent confusion. The part allotted to each had

[1] I. Neither the first of May, nor the [first] leaf on the beech, nor the song of the birds, nor the gladiolus in flower, can rejoice my heart, noble and beautiful lady, until I can see a swift messenger arrive, bringing words of comfort from you to this love of mine, until I can throw myself at your feet (?) and until I can see, before I leave you, my jealous rival struck down by the lightnings of your wrath.

II. My Lady, Heaven grant that the jealous one rejoice not at my discomfiture: his jealousy would cost him dear (?) did it succeed in separating two lovers like us. I should never be joyful again; at least, no joy without you could be sweet; I would go away, none should ever see me again; nay, rather, noble lady, I should die on the day that I lost you.

III. But how could I lose you, how could I regain a lady who had never been mine? It is not in imagination alone that one can be lover or mistress; when the suitor earns the title of lover, great honour is his. The gracious manner of your welcome made me think that I had deserved——but no such thing! I sought you and I craved for you, but never obtained your favour.
(From M. Jeanroy's translation.)

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to be clearly established, and the solo part and the chorus part, the latter of less importance, carefully differentiated.

M. Jeanroy, therefore, rightly assumes that the original object of the songs in set form was to accompany dancing. We find them appearing in the thirteenth century; two are especially popular, the *balade* and the *rondeau*, but in the following century we see the poetical and musical aspects regulated by increasingly rigid rules and the number of compositions in this style grows apace; Guillem de Machaut handles them with surprising mastery.

Side by side with the dances which are nothing but dances, recent research has established the existence of mime-dances, a charming variety of miniature play with singing and dancing characters; adopting the medieval name, we will call them *baleries*. Here, however, we no longer find the set form; it is ousted by dramatic action.

I have spoken of *balades*, *rondeaux* and *baleries;* these terms require more exact definition.

(a) The Balade. At the time of which we write, the middle and perhaps till the end of the thirteenth century, the *balade* is not so rigidly constructed as in the following period. Specimens handed down from the time of of the troubadours show many licences. I recall one example, the famous *A l'entrada* in the Saint-Germain-des-Prés song-book. This 'dancing-song' is written in a very ancient and simple form. It is composed of single-rhymed verses sung by a soloist, followed

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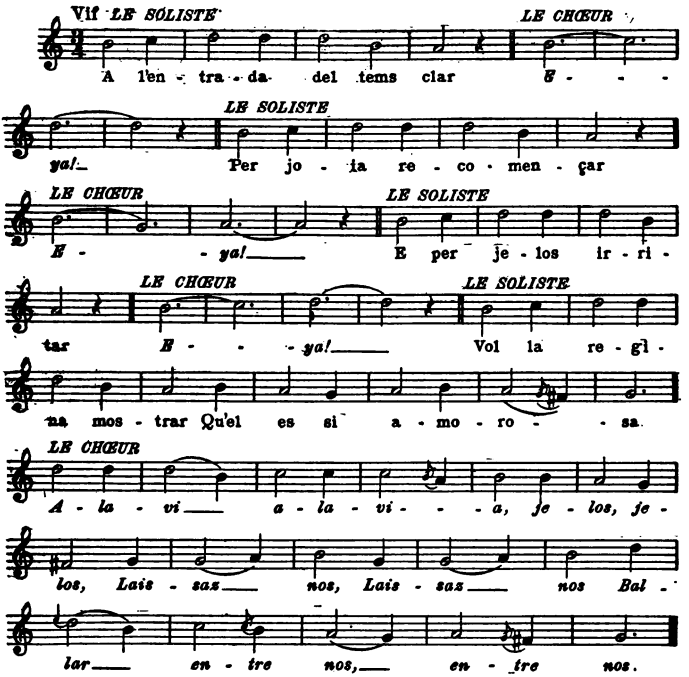
by a refrain repeated by the chorus. It further appears that the exclamation *Eya* at the end of each line was given out by the chorus; but this is an exceptional case. The text must be quoted.[1]



II

El' a fait per tot mandar,—*Eya*,
Non sia jusqu'a la mar,—*Eya*,

[1] This delightful *balade* has already been published, in *La chanson populaire dans les textes musicaux du moyen âge* (Paris, Champion, 1804). Any discrepancy noted is due to recent research and conclusions since formed. See also, Julien Tiersot, *Histoire de la Chanson Populaire en France*, Paris (Heugel), 1889: page 371, where it is noted in double time. TR.

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Piucela ni bachalar,—*Eya*,
Que tuit non venguan dançar
En la dansa joioza.
Alavi', *alavia*, etc.

III

Lo reis i ven d'autra part,—*Eya*,
Per la dansa destorbar,—*Eya*,
Què el es en crematar,—*Eya*,
Que on no li voill' emblar
La regin' aurilloza.
Alavi', *alavia*, etc.

. . . . . .

I

When the fine weather returns, (Eya) to resume her joyousness (Eya) and to annoy the jealous, (Eya) the Queen wishes to make a show of being in love.

Chorus. Fly away, far away, ye jealous, leave us, leave us to dance by ourselves, by ourselves!

II

She has proclaimed far and wide that, from here to the sea, there shall be neither maid nor youth but must dance in the joyous dance. Fly away, etc.

III

But the King arrives from another land, to disturb the dance, for he is in dread lest one should take away from him the Queen of April. Fly away, etc.

An examination of ancient types of *balade* shows the refrain to be the usual characteristic, forming the chorus to the song.

(b) The Rondeau, highly popular from the thirteenth century onwards, seems to have had its prototype in contemporary Latin poetry, in which the same art-form is prevalent. But while the Latin *rondeau* has, usually, several verses, that in the vulgar tongue has but one, being the *rondeau sengle* of the poets, and it is only

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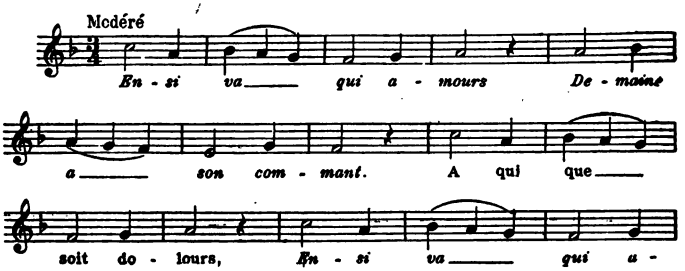
in the fourteenth century that we find the French *rondeau* developed to any greater length.

The construction of the *rondeau* in the time of the lyrical trouvères is as follows. The groundwork is a refrain of two lines. This distich is some commonplace or 'catch-word' of popular verse, something quite familiar, perhaps a sentence; like some master-key of poetry, the same refrain appears constantly, not only in the *rondeau*, but even in the motets, pastorals and ballads. The *rondeau* develops the idea contained in the initial refrain. Let us call the two lines of this refrain AB. The *Rondeau* goes on with a line *a*, rhyming with the first line of the refrain. The line A follows *a*, then come two new lines, *a* and *b*, corresponding in metre and rhyme to the first two lines; then a repetition of the refrain rounds off the verse. Putting these constituents in order we get a little verse of eight lines, made up thus:

AB *a* A *ab* AB.

The probable interpretation of this *rondeau* can be imagined. It is shared between a principal character, the leader or conductor of the dance, or the principal



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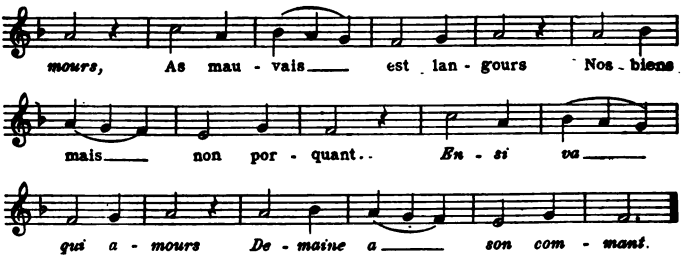

singer, and the chorus. The protagonist sings the whole verse; the chorus replies with the lines of the refrain which begins the song, singing them in the middle and at the end. One example chosen from a large selection will serve to show how a *rondeau* worked out in performance.[1]

I would mention, in passing, the interesting connection between the rondeau, as it develops century by century, and the classical rondo-form, the logical descendant of the primitive type.

(c) THE BALERIE. Intimate knowledge of our medieval literature, combined with remarkable insight,

[1] This rondeau is taken from MS. 264, fol. 181, in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

This celebrated manuscript contains some beautiful illumination and decoration, of the fourteenth century. This rondeau (an exquisite specimen) has been published in facsimile in Stainer's "Early Bodleian Music" (2 vols.), London, Novello, 1901. (Vol. I, facsimile IX; Vol. II, text, page 23.) TR.

(*Thus he goes whom love*
Subjects to his command,
To whomsoever love is pain;
Thus he goes whom love—
To the wicked it is sorrow,
Nevertheless to us it is a blessing.
Thus he goes whom love
Subjects to his command.)

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enabled M. Joseph Bédier, Gaston Paris' successor in the Collège de France, to suggest a new form, with an ingenious interpretation, of certain "dancing-songs" which defied explanation when treated as merely vocal works for singer or chorus. I need only quote an article on *Les plus anciennes danses françaises*, published by M. Bédier in the *Revue des deux Mondes*[1] (1906). "Try them with characters, like a vocal ballet, and these fragments of dancing-songs become alive at once. Some of the texts make it clear that the dancers did not join hands, as in the ordinary *carole*, but, in the happy phrase of the author of *Guillaume de Dole*, 'they danced and sang with their arms and hands.' Some fragments invite the theory, not of two groups or alternating choruses, but of two or three dancers acting a little scene."

From this starting-point, M. Bédier, gifted with the memory necessary for the storing up of his gleanings, arrives at the reconstruction of several scenarios of dances, which were probably acted and danced at manorial entertainments to while away the tedium of rainy days or winter evenings; every social gathering had its divertissements. In the time of Saint Louis these little *balerie* scenes constituted the popular drama.

First, there is the "chaplet" scene, where a lady, toying in solitude with a garland of flowers in a grove, pairs off with a young nobleman sent by a *ménestrel de vielle*. Then there is the *balerie* of the queen of spring (see *A l'entrada del tems clar*, page 47); then the

[1] Vol. XXXI, pp. 398 *et seq.*

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bois d'amour (Cupid's wood), hallowed and mysterious, known only to lovers:

Je gart le bos
Que nus n'en port
Chapel de flors, s'il n'aime.

(I guard the wood whence none save lovers may bear garlands away.)

Then we have the elopement scene, where a woman mimes and dances, probably sheltered by a friendly chorus and trying to escape the watchful eye of a jealous husband. The theme of the *danse robardoise* is the stolen kiss. And, lastly, there is the great favourite of the thirteenth century, *Bele Aelis*. One of the trouvères who utilised this theme, no doubt the last to do so, was Baude de la Quarière, who composed a song full of charming details but almost unintelligible as to its scheme. "Each phrase," writes M. Bédier, "is perfectly clear as well as pretty, but any attempt to link them together produces obscurity."[1] One is forced to the conclusion that the piece is really a dialogue. "After each couplet by one of the dancers the chorus chimes in with seven lines. Like the chorus in a Greek comedy, it associates itself with the feelings of the principal characters. It incites them to love, and recapitulates in these seven lines the chief maxims of courtly love. Then, in the last five lines of the verse, we have a second little *balerie* inset, so to speak, each of the actors singing in turn. This piece of Baude's represents, in our opinion, a formal dance, a properly constructed play rather than

[1] Page 415 of the article quoted above.

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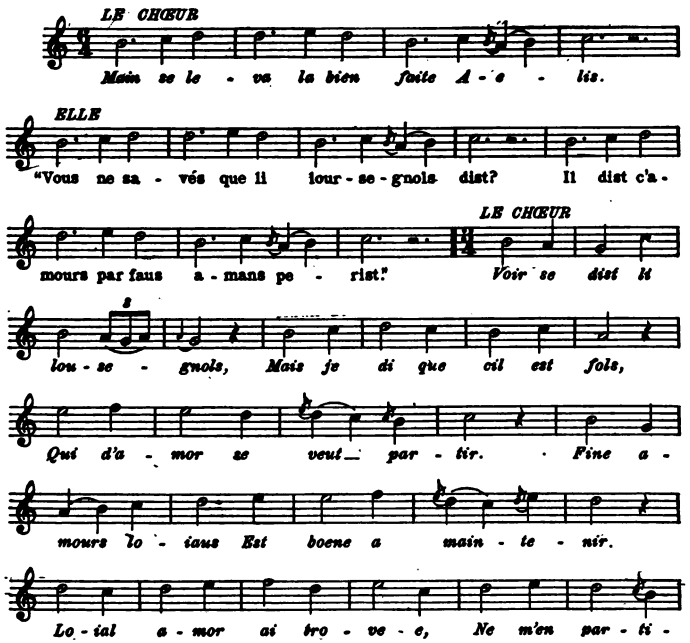
a mere *divertissement* for the performer's amusement; the share taken by the chorus is more of a musical commentary than a choregraphic framework."[1] To-day Fair Aelis is merely a dried-up blossom lying between the leaves of a ponderous manuscript. The transcription of a fragment cannot restore its freshness—only the original surroundings could do this—but it can at least give it a semblance of life.[2]



[1] Page 416 of the article quoted above.

[2] See *La Chanson de Bele Aelis par le trouvère Baude de la Quarière*, published by R. Meyer, J. Bédier and P. Aubry, Paris, 8vo, 1904; certain emendations have been made in the present transcription, made four years later.

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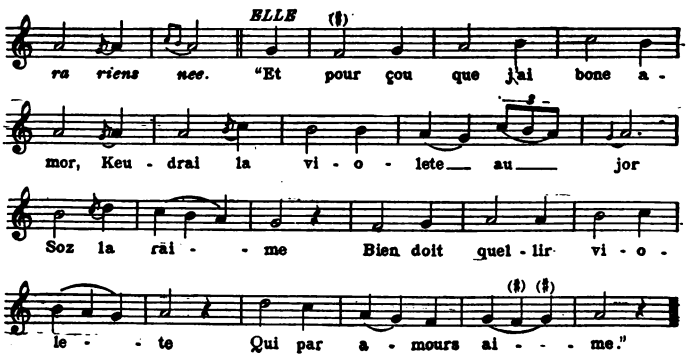

II

LE CHŒUR : *Bel se para et plus bel se vesti.*

LUI : "Vos avés bien le rousegnol oï :
Se bien n'amés, amors avés traï."

LE CHŒUR : *Mal ait qui le trahira !*
Ki les dous maus sentira
Bien li ert guerredoné.
Nus ne sent les maus, s'il n'aime,
U s'il n'a amé.
Je le sent,
La dolour sovent !

LUI : "Et pour çou que j'ai bien amé,
Amie ai a ma volenté,
Bele et jointe;
Amors ai a ma volenté,
Si m'en tien cointe."

III

LE CHŒUR : *Si prist de l'aigue en un doré bacin.*

ELLE : "Li rousegnols nos dit en son latin :
"Amant, amés, joie arés a tous dis."

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LE CHŒUR : *Ki bien aime joie atent,*
Et ki d'amer se repent
Ne poet joie recouvrer.
Ne vos repentés mie
De loiaument amer.
Dehait d'amer ne balera,
Et ki ne se renvoisera!

ELLE : "Tant me plaist li deduis d'amor
C'oublié en ai la dolor
Et contraire.
Tant ai de joie a mon talent
Que je n'en sai que faire."

IV

LE CHŒUR : *Lava sa bouche et ses oex et son vis.*

LUI : "Buer fu cil nés ki est loiaus amis !
Li rousegnols l'en pramet paradis."

LE CHŒUR : *De ce sui liés et joians*
C'ainc ne fui las ne restans
De souffrir la douce dolour.
Il pert bien a mon viaire
Que j'aim par amors.
Vos qui d'amors vivés,
Paradis vos atent.

LUI : "Se Dieu plaist, jou i serai mis,
Car ja mais plus loiaus amis
Ne vivra.
Cascuns dit c'amours l'ocist,
Mais jo sui ki garira."

V

LES DEUX DANSEURS CHANTENT AVEC LE CHŒUR

Si s'en entra la bele en un gardin.
Li rousegnols un sonet li a dit :
"Pucele, amés, joie arés et delit."
La pucele bien l'entent,

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Et molt debonairement
Li respont et sans orguel :
"Sans amour ne sui je mie,
Ce tesmoignent mi oel.
Bon jour ait ki mon cuer a,
N'est pas od moi !"
Pleüst Dieu ki ainc ne menti
Que li miens amis fust or ci
A sejour!
Si j'avoie une nuit s'amour,
Bien vauroie morir au jour!

BELE AELIS

I

CHORUS: *At morn arose the shapely Aelis.*

SHE: Do you not know what the nightingale says?
He says that love dies of false lovers.

CHORUS: *The nightingale says true,*
But I tell you he is mad
That wishes to part from love.
Great and loyal passions
Are good to maintain;
Loyal love have I found,
Nothing born shall part me from it.

SHE: And because I have good love
I will gather violets by day,
Under the branches.
Who loves for love's sake
Should gather violets.

II

CHORUS: *Fair is her adorning and fairer still her tiring.*

HE: You have heard the nightingale aright;
Who loves not well, is false to love.

CHORUS: *A curse on him who would betray it!*
He who feels its sweet pains
Is well rewarded by it.
None can feel its pains, if he love not,
Or has never loved.
I feel it often,
That pain!

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HE: And because I have loved aright
I have a lady at my will,
Fair and comely;
I have love at my will,
And it rejoices me.

III

CHORUS: *She took some water in a golden ewer.*

SHE: The nightingale tells us in his own language;
Lover, love on, you shall have joys through all your days.

CHORUS: *Who loves well, expects happiness,*
And he who repents of loving
Can never know happiness again.
Repent not at all
Of loving loyally.
He who is unblest in love shall not dance,
Nor shall he ever rejoice!

SHE: So much the joys of love delight me
That I have forgotten its pains
And difficulties,
I have so much joy at my command
That I know not what to do with it.

IV

CHORUS: *She bathed her mouth and eyes and face:*

HE: In good time was he born who is a loyal friend!
The nightingale promises him paradise.

CHORUS: *For this I am glad and joyful,*
That he was not weary or laggard
In suffering the sweet torments.
It seems to me, as I think,
That I love for love's sake.
You who live on love,
Paradise awaits you.

HE: Heaven grant that I be placed there,
For a more loyal friend
Can never live.
Every man says that love kills him,
But I am one whom it shall cure.

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V

THE TWO DANCERS SINGING WITH THE CHORUS

The fair one entered the garden;
The nightingale sang her a sonnet:
"Maiden, love, you shall have joy and delight."
The maiden listened well,
And very composedly
Replied, yet without haughtiness,

"I am by no means without love,
Of this my eyes bear witness:
All joy to him who has my heart,
He is not with me now!"
Please God who never lies,
That my friend were here
To stay with me!
Could I enjoy one night of love,
Right glad were I to die at dawn!

Finally, in the category of dramatic *baleries*, we must place the *jeu du guetteur*, which will be treated later under *Albas*.

These seigniorial pastimes, these entertainments got up for the amusement of the grand folk, are very much akin to our modern children's songs; they have the youth of both, the youth of temperament and youth of the genius of France.

This brief sketch does not pretend to trace the history of the dance in the thirteenth century, but merely aims at touching on what we know of it. This is little enough, in truth; but it is greatly to be feared that, for the present, it is all.

4. Reverdies. (*Spring Songs.*)

Of all the minor lyric forms, this is the smallest, and could easily be passed over in silence, were it not a pity to leave unquoted one specimen which seems to me to be a gem of medieval song.

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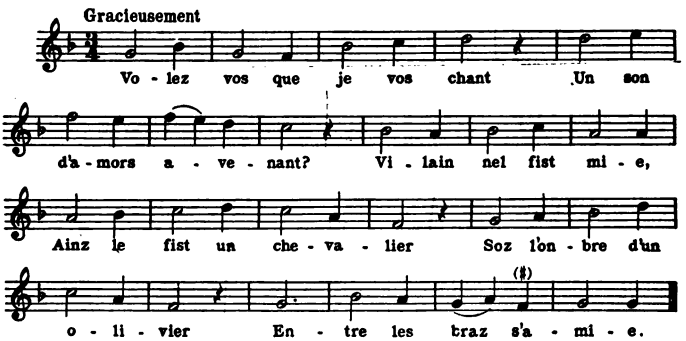
The *reverdie* properly belongs to May-Day festivities, but in the hands of the trouvères the popular element signified by its origin receives the accolade of nobility. The *reverdie* thus becomes a pastoral, without the shepherdess and the rustic characters found in the pastoral proper. Only the framework remains, and this rural framework is wonderfully idealised. The fairy setting is intended to produce the illusion of spring, even of a spring morning, and on this fantastic and enchanting canvas the poet's vision is portrayed. Generally, we are transported to a glade, where the poet dreams under the sunlit blossoms of trees that shelter the birds of the air.[1] He calls upon the nightingale to sing, and challenges it with an accompaniment on his lute; his song runs thus:[2]



[1] Bartsch, I: 27, 28, 29, 30 *a* and *b*, 66; II: 2.

[2] This *reverdie* is taken from MS. 5198, p. 366, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The text was previously published by K. Bartsch in *Romanzen*, p. 23, and the music in the author's *Rythmique musicale des troubadours et des trouvères*, p. 25.

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II

Chemisete avoit de lin
Et blanc peliçon hermin
Et bliaut de soie;
Chauces out de jaglolai
Et solers de flors de mai,
Estroitement chaucade.

III

Çainturete avoit de fueille
Qui verdist quant li tens mueille :
D'or est boutonade.
L'aumosniere estoit d'amor,
Li pendant furent de flor :
Par amors fu donade.
. . . . . .

V

Si s'en vet aval la pree :
Chevaliers l'ont encontree,
Biau l'ont saluade.
" Bele, dont estes vos nee? "—
" De France sui la loee,
Du plus haut parage.

VI

Li rosignox est mon pere,
Qui chante sor la ramee
El plus haut boscage.
La seraine ele est ma mere,
Qui chante en la mer salee
El plus haut rivage."
. . . . . .

I. Do you wish me to sing you a charming love-song? No villein made it, but a cavalier, in the arms of his mistress beneath an olive-tree.

II. She wore a cinglet of fine linen, cloak of white ermine and silken tunic, hose of golden net, and shoes of May blossoms, entwined around her feet.

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III. She wore a girdle of leaves made green by the rain; it was fastened with gold. She was love's almoner, all garlanded with flowers: she was love's guerdon.

* * * * * * * *

V. She went her way along the glade; cavaliers met her and gave her fair greeting.

"Lady fair, where were you born?"

"I am the pride of France, of most noble lineage.

VI. "The nightingale that sings on the bough of the farthest thicket is my father; the siren that sings by the farthest shore of the salt sea is my mother."

* * * * * * * *

A dreamland scene and a fairy poem! The longest of treatises cannot sum up the characteristics of the *reverdie* so happily as M. Bédier's brief description in his lectures at the Collège de France: "The dream of a spring morn."

5. The Pastourelles. (*Pastorals.*)

The pastoral is a song about a woman, too, but the woman is a shepherdess.

The meaning is not derived from *pastoralia*, songs devoted to rustic matters, but from *pastorella*, song of a shepherdess. The pastoral is found in troubadour poetry as well as in that of the trouvères. The type dates from a very early period; one of the prettiest examples is the work of Marcabru, and Marcabru is a pioneer. His biographer tells us that even Cercalmon, the oldest of the troubadours, made pastorals "in the olden style" (*a la usanza antiga*), which argues the existence of pastorals in Southern France towards the middle of the twelfth century. But here the woman no longer sings in her apartments: she sings in the open air, in the meadows, by the bank of a stream, on the outskirts of a wood. In its inception the song of the shepherdess

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is a wild-flower. Modern pundits have stooped to gather it, and, pitiless in their inquisitiveness, have asked, not why it was so fresh and sweet among its fellows, but why it flourished in one spot rather than another, or if it could recall the hand that planted it, and so forth. Learned philologians from over the Rhine, and ingenious scholars like Gaston Paris and A. Jeanroy, have dissected the pastoral. They have constructed systems, and ticketed a tiny entity with formidable words. The present work, which makes no pretence to science, is not ashamed to be less profound, contenting itself with such information as the relics themselves can afford.

M. Jeanroy, however, admirably describes the usual theme of the pastorals: "A knight—none other than the poet—roams the country at daybreak, a prey to the cares or miseries of love. In a meadow, or on the road, he meets a young shepherdess wreathing a chaplet or singing a song. Enchanted by her beauty, he dismounts and woos her more or less discreetly. So far the poems are all alike; no poet ever indulges in any variant of the time-honoured preamble, but at this point the modifications come in. Often—this is the most common form—the shepherdess requires persistent coaxing; she declines to accept as genuine a passion so suddenly conceived and declared; excusing herself on the score of the inferiority of her condition and the simplicity of her dress, she sends her suitor back to ladies of his own class, or alleges the proximity of father or lover working in the field hard by.

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"But the gallant knight has an answer for every excuse, violenting protesting his love, sudden indeed, but ardent nevertheless; he launches out into enthusiastic praises of the girl's beauty, vows himself indignant that she should vegetate thus, swearing that she is fit for a palace, and the king's son would be proud to call her his. He proposes to carry her off, that she may adorn his castle and revel in his wealth.

"If she refuses he is willing to handle the crook, so that he may be near her. Sometimes these specious promises are unnecessary, and the sight of a jewel, an 'ermine cloak,' a 'scarlet gown,' or a 'golden ring,' suffices to soften the capricious beauty's heart.

"If she be still obstinate, the knight does not scruple to use force where persuasion has failed. Then, of course, he forgets all his promises, remounts his charger, and goes on his way unabashed.

"Matters do not always run so smoothly; sometimes the lady screams for help. Her father, brother, or lover, rushes out of a convenient thicket and valiantly protects her honour. When the knight finds himself confronted by strong opposition, he soon makes up his mind."

Lors n'oi je talent de rire,
Quant irié vi le pastor...
Elle me comence à dire :
"Revenés arier, biaus sire ;
Je vos otroi mon amor !"
Mais por tot l'or de l'empire,
Ne fuisse tornés vers lor.

Bartsch, *Romanzen*, III, 52, 61.

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(Then I had no wish to laugh,
When I saw the shepherd's anger...
She began to cry to me:
Come you back again, fine sir,
I will yield to you my love!
But not for all the empire's gold
Would I have returned to them.)

"If he make resistance, he is sometimes worsted, and does not escape without a buffet of two, as he himself acknowledges with excellent grace."[1]

Mention has been made of the historians of literature and their learned endeavours to trace the origin of the pastoral; but, being concerned with the musical rather than the contentious side of these works, we shall not join the fray. In any case, it is highly probable that the pastoral was originally a monologue, sung by a shepherdess, either a girl who pined for a suitor, or a wife who sighed for a lover. From this is evolved the dialogue between a shepherdess and her shepherd; later, the introduction of the aristocratic element brings the gallant knight on to the rustic scene and the three stock characters of the pastoral make each other's acquaintance; not, however, always in company, for generally only two actually appear, the shepherdess and the knight. The conversation is mostly bright and entertaining. Here is a specimen, perhaps the oldest extant, by the troubadour Marcabru, who, be it noted, was a confirmed woman-hater.[2]

[1] Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 2 *et seq.*

[2] This pastoral is in fol. 5, MS. fr. 22543, Bibliothèque Nationale. Several editions of the text have appeared.

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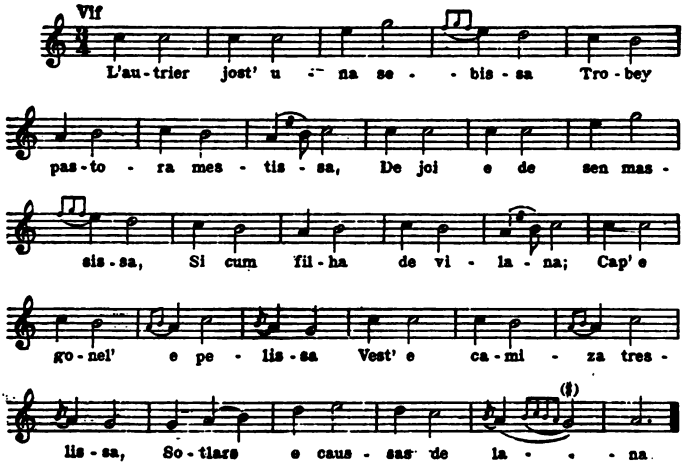

II

Ves lieis vinc per la planissa :
"Toza, fi'm ieu, res faitissa,
Dol ai gran del ven que' us fissa."
—"Senher, so'm dis la vilana,
Merce Dieu e ma noirissa,
Pauc m'o pretz si'l vens m'erissa,
Qu'alegreta sui e sana."

III

—"Toza, fi'm ieu, cauza pia,
Destoutz me sui de la via
Per far a vos companhia ;
Quar aital toza vilana
No deu ses parelh paria
Pasturgar tanta bestia
En aital terra soldana."

IV

—"Don, fetz ela, qui que'm sia,
Ben conosc sen e folia,
La vostra parelhadura,
Senher, so'm dis la vilana,

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Lai on se tanh si s'estia,
Que tals la cuj' en bailia
Tener, no'n a mas l'ufana."

V

—"Toza de gentil afaire,
Cavaliers fon vostre paire
Que' us engenret de la maire,
Car fon corteza vilana.
Com plus vos gart m'etz belaire,
E per vostre joi m'esclaire,
Si fossetz un pauc humana."

VI

—"Don, tot mon linh e mon aire
Vei revertir e retraire
Al vezoig et a l'araire,
Senher, so dis la vilana ;
Mas tals se fai cavalgaire
C'atrestal deuria faire
Los seis jorns de la semana."

. . . . . .

XI

—"Toza, tota creatura
Revertis a sa natura :
Parelhar parelhadura
Devem, ieu e vos, vilana
Al abric lonc la pastura,
Que mielhs n'estaretz segura
Per far la cauza doussana."

XII

—"Don, oc, mas segon drechura
Cerca fols la folatura,
Cortes cortez' aventura,
E' l vilas ab la vilana ;
En tal loc fai sens fraitura
On hom non garda mezura,
So ditz la gens anciana."

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XIII

—" Toza, de vostra figura
Non vi autra plus tafura
Ni de son cor plus trefana."
—"Don, lo cavecs vos aüra
Que tals bad' en la penchura
Qu'autre n'espera la mana."

I. One day, near a thicket, I met a sweet young shepherdess, the gay and sprightly daughter of a villein, dressed in cape, kirtle, cloak, slashed tunic, and woolen shoes and hose.

II. I crossed the sward to meet her; "Fair damozel," I said, "enchanting creature, my heart is sore that the wind should thus vex thee." "Sir," said she, "thanks to God and my nurse, I can laugh at the wind, for I am happy and sound."

III. "Fair damozel," said I, "sweet charmer, I have turned from my path to keep thee company; for such a child should not tend her flocks alone out here, without a chosen escort."

IV. "Sir," said she, "whatever be my qualities, I can distinguish between wisdom and folly. Keep thine acquaintance, my lord," said the villein's daughter, "for those whom it befits; many a man thinks he has won the kernel when he has only the empty shell."

V. "Maid of high degree, some brave knight was surely thy father: the mother that gave thee birth came of noble villein stock; the more I look at thee, the more lovely dost thou seem, and thy sprightliness fires my heart. Ah! If only thou wouldst be more human!"

VI. "Sir, all my tribe and all my family, I see them returning to resume the spade and plough: but one there is who calls himself a knight, that should be plying this trade six days of seven."

XI. "Fair damozel, every creature reverts to nature: we should make a fine couple, thou, fair villein, and I, and make our home in these meadows, for here thou wilt more readily be kind."

XII. "Yes, sir, but if all be right, the fool seeks folly, and the gentry nobility; leave the villein to his own: when the measure fits ill, then wisdom goes a-begging, says the adage."

XIII. "Young maiden, I see in thy face naught but sauciness, nor in thy wit aught but mockery."

"Sir, thou wast born to the screech-owl's (?) cry; a man such as thou art will stand agape before the shadow, while another swallows the substance."

(From the French transcription of MM. Dejeanne and Jeanroy.)

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But let not the rustic simplicity with which these songs abound deceive us! Though the middle ages have neither a Watteau nor a Florian, they have their pastorals. The characters, except for the knight, are rustics, but ordinarily well-endowed with wit, as Marcabru's shepherdess testifies. That their origin was popular, that the earliest pastorals were the work of poets sprung from the people and writing for the people, is possible, even probable, but no specimens of these first-fruits have come down to us. After the middle of the twelfth century the troubadours and trouvères took possession of this type. With the refinements of their art they handled rural life in the same spirit as Marie-Antoinette playing at farming in her Trianon dairy. The musical side becomes as complete as that of the other lyrical types, the popular style loses its individuality, and though in some of what are termed *pastourelles à refrains* the poet has interpolated refrains borrowed from popular minstrelsy, this would seem to be no more than a tendency to follow the path we have outlined for them. Troubadours in particular remain drawing-room poets in the country, and carry reminiscences of their ladies even to their country surroundings. Trouvères, though more genuine, are not always successful in disguising artifice or patchwork, and just as the poet's verses have lost the true pastoral spirit in word and action, so does the music fall short as an illustration of true popular song and melody for pipe, musette or flageolet.

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6. The Chansons d'Aube, Albas. (*Dawn-Songs, Serenades.*)

The *aube* of the trouvères, the *alba* of Provençal poets, is not the *aubade*, of which the earliest examples date no farther back than the fifteenth century. Nor is the *chanson d'aube* a woman's song, in the same sense as pastoral or the ballad; or, rather, if there is a woman in the song, she never appears, but remains hidden in the castle chamber and watches unseen from her latticed window. This literary product was a particular favourite of the German-speaking trouvères, the Minnesänger; their collections contain quite a hundred *chansons d'aube*. In French poetry much fewer examples are to be found; the works of the troubadours contain but seven, and those of the trouvères but four *chansons d'aube* properly so called.

The scheme is as follows: It is night, and the lovers are together, so oblivious of the world that dawn overtakes them, and it needs the song of a bird, the salutation of a friend, or the vigilance of a scout (*guetteur*) to warn them of their peril. So we have three characters, the two lovers, and the kind friend whose duty it is to announce the break of day. They do not always appear together; the night-watcher, or scout (in ancient phraseology the *gaite*), who is thus a party to the liaison, is a typical character; he is a variant of the seigniorial watchman of medieval times, charged with the duty of calling the hours through the night and in the early morning; perhaps, too, deputed to give the alarm in

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case of any unusual happening within the castle precincts. But should the châtelaine, on assignation intent, forget the hour, the watchman, in whose disinterested devotion we prefer to believe, becomes the lady's confidant. Suppose the lovers to be dallying in the vaulted chamber; who is to warn them against surprise and the coming dawn, to bid the lover fly under the shelter of night's fleeting shades? Who is to warn them of the returning husband and the prowling spies? The watcher, no less timely a friend to lovers than to poets. This is why the watcher appears to be an indispensable factor in the *chanson d'aube.* But this delicate office can be undertaken by a faithful friend, who guards the threshold of the enchanted bower; it will be seen that he sometimes receives but sorry recompense and that warning of day's arrival often goes unheeded. The bird, the common lark that heralds the day, is never believed by the lovers, who decline to listen to it. "No," says the incorrigible Romeo, "it is not the day; it is not the lark, it is the nightingale, the lovers' ambassador."[1] What is the relation of these elements? Which is the oldest? What is the logical and chronological order of these characters in the evolution of this type? Scholars like Bartsch, Stengel, Römer and Jeanroy have tackled the problem, but no solution or agreement has been found. We do not propose to add to the confusion; we will simply consider what lessons musical history can learn from the thirteenth-century *alba.*

[1] The author's perversion of *Romeo and Juliet,* III:v. Tr.

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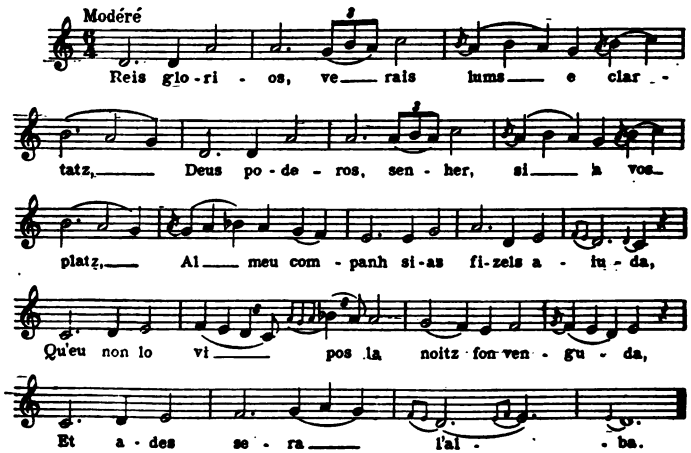
Of the albas preserved to us, one at least appears to be a masterpiece in miniature. A note in the manuscript assigns it to the troubadour Guiraut de Borneilh, (or Bornelh). The first verse, in modern notation, runs thus:[1]



(Glorious King, the source of light and brightness,
Almighty God, Lord, if it be Thy pleasure,
To my friend be a true defender,
Who does not see that night is past
And that the dawn is at hand.)

But a second example, an anonymous product of Northern France, presents a more elaborate scheme. In the Provençal *alba* we have the singer warning his friend, and the friend's reply, expressing regret at the approach of daylight. On the other hand, the *alba* of

[1] The original text, here followed, is in fol. 8, MS. fr. 22543, Bibliothèque Nationale.

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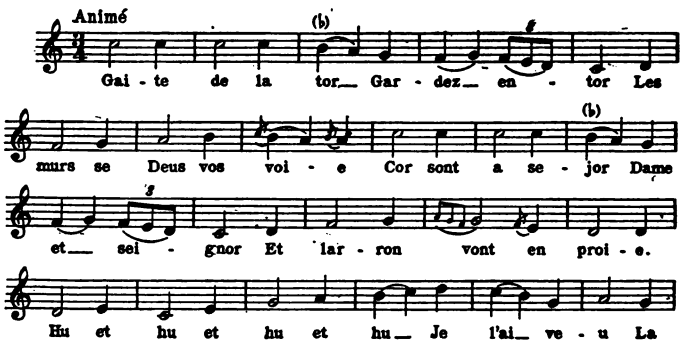
the *langue d'oïl* is much more complicated, so complicated indeed, that in order to explain it correctly the commentators have had to resort to at least six or seven schemes![1] This is the song called *Gaite de la tor* (the watcher on the tower). In order to understand it we must split up the poem into sections and supply stage directions as to the distribution of the text, these being absent in the only manuscript extant.

M. Bédier goes even further in his essay; not only does he accept the theory of distributed dialogue advanced by M. Jeanroy, but he reads into the scene a 'society play,' which might be called the "Watcher;" he finds in it the theme of a well-known *balerie*, somewhat after the style of a nursery rhyme.[2]



[1] M.M. Paulin Paris, Wolf, Leroux de Lincy, Gaston Paris, Schläger and Jeanroy. See G. Schläger, *Studien über das Tagelied*, Jena, 1895, and A. Jeanroy, *Romania*, v. XXXIII, p. 616 (1904). Jeanroy's theory is accepted and quoted by J. Bédier in a charming essay, *Les plus anciennes danses françaises* ("Revue des Deux Mondes," 1906, p. 398 *et seq.*) mentioned above.

[2] This transcription is made from the MS. fr. 20050, fol. 83, r°, Saint-Germain-des-Prés Song-Book, Bibliothèque Nationale.

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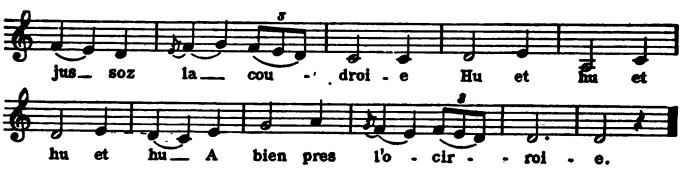

I

LE COMPAGNON DE L'AMOUREUX (*parlant au guetteur*)

Gaite de la tor,
Gardez entor
Les murs, se Deus vos voie,
C'or sont a sejor
Dame et seignor
Et larron vont en proie.

LE GUETTEUR (*jouant de la trompe et faisant sa ronde*).

Hu et hu et hu et hu!
Je l'ai veü
La jus soz la coudroie.
Hu et hu et hu et hu!
A bien pres l'ocirroie.

II

LE COMPAGNON (*au guetteur*).

D'un douz lai d'amor
De Blancheflor,
Compainz, vos chanteroie,
Ne fust la poor
Del traïtor
Cui je redoteroie.

LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu et hu et hu!
Je l'ai veü
La jus soz la coudroie.
Hu et hu et hu et hu!
A bien pres l'ocirroie.

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III

LE COMPAGNON (*rassuré sur les dangers que court son ami, au guetteur, l'invitant à se reposer*).

Compainz, en error
Sui, qu'a cest tor
Volentiers dormiroie.
N'aient pas paor:
Voist a loisor
Qui aler vuet par voie!

LE GUETTEUR (*rassuré, lui aussi, et prêt à se reposer*).

Hu et hu et hu et hu!
Or soit teü,
Compainz, a ceste voie!
Hu et hu! Bien ai seü
Que nos en avrons joie.

IV

LE COMPAGNON (*au guetteur*).

Ne sont pas plusor
Li robeor,
N'i a c'un que je voie,
Qui gist en la flor,
Soz covertor,
Cui nomer n'oseroie.

LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu et hu et hu!
Or soit teü,
Compainz, a ceste voie.
Hu et hu! Bien ai seü
Que nos en avrons joie.

V

LE COMPAGNON (*s'adressant aux amoureux dans la tour*).

Cortois ameor,
Qui a sejor
Gisez en chambre coie,
N'aiez pas freor,
Que tresqu'a [l] jor
Poez demener joie.

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LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu et hu et hu!
Or soit teü,
Compainz, a ceste voie,
Hu et hu! bien ai seü
Que nos en avrons joie.

VI

L'AMOUREUX (*sortant de la tour*).

Gaite de la tor,
Vez mon retor,
De la ou vos ooie.
D'amie et d'amor
A cestui tor
Ai ceu que plus amoie.

LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu!

L'AMOUREUX

Pou ai geü
En la chambre de joie.

LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu!

L'AMOUREUX

Trop m'a neü
L'aube qui me guerroie.

VII

L'AMOUREUX

Se salve l'onor
Au Criator
Estoit, tot tens voudroie
Nuit feïst del jor;
Ja mais dolor
Ne pesance n'avroie.

LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu!

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L'AMOUREUX

Bien ai veü
De biauté la monjoie.

LE GUETTEUR

Hu et hu!

L AMOUREUX

C'est bien seü.
Gaite, a Dieu tote voie!

WATCHER ON THE TOWER

I

THE LOVER'S COMPANION (*speaking to the watcher*).

Watcher of the tower,
Look around the walls,
And God befriend you;
For now at rest
Are lady and lord,
And the robber is on the prowl.

THE WATCHER (*sounding his horn and going his rounds*)

Hu and hu and hu!
I saw him
There under the hazel-thicket.
Hu and hu and hu!
I should rejoice to kill him.

II

THE COMPANION (*to the watcher*).

A sweet song of love,
Of Blanchefleur,
Friend, I would sing to you,
Were it not for fear
Of the traitor
Whom I suspect.

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu and hu!
I saw him
There under the hazel-thicket,
Hu and hu and hu!
I should rejoice to kill him.

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III

THE COMPANION (*reassured as to the risk run by his friend, to the watcher, inviting him to take rest*).

Friend, I am wrong,
For at this juncture
I would gladly sleep.
Let them have no fear,
Let him take his ease
Who wants to go his way!

THE WATCHER (*also reassured, and ready for a spell of rest*).

Hu and hu and hu!
Let there be silence,
Friend, at this moment!
Hu and hu! I knew well
That we should find joy in this.

IV

THE COMPANION (*to the watcher*).

They are not many,
The robbers,
There is but one that I see
Who crouches amid the flowers,
In company
With her I dare not name.

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu and hu!
Now let there be silence,
Friend, at this juncture.
Hu and hu! I knew well
That we should find joy in this.

V

THE COMPANION (*to the lovers in the tower*).

Courtly lovers,
Who are at rest
Within the quiet chamber,
Have no fear,
For till daylight come
You can enjoy your happiness.

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu and hu!
Let there be silence,
Friend, at this moment.
Hu and hu! I knew well
That we should find joy in this.

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VI

THE LOVER (*coming out of the tower*).

Watcher of the tower,
Behold my return
From the place whence I heard you.
Of love and lady,
In this venture
I have taken that which I like best.

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu!

THE LOVER

I have tarried a little
In the bower of joy.

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu!

THE LOVER

Too much it irked me,
This dawn that assailed me.

VII

THE LOVER

Saving the honour
Of the Creator,
I would He always made
Night of day;
Then never more
Should I have pain or heaviness.

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu!

THE LOVER

Truly have I seen
The quintessence of beauty—

THE WATCHER

Hu and hu!

THE LOVER

That is certain.
Watcher, God keep thee.

We have already expressed our opinion on this subject and on the above pretty and vivacious interpretation.

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B. COURTLY POESY

1. COURTLY POESY

The foregoing compositions are for the most part anonymous; the manuscripts have not preserved for us the name of the poet, and where the author of the reverdie or pastoral speaks in his own name, he does it so impersonally that his individuality hardly shows itself at all. On the other hand, in the subjective forms, the poet's personality is full in the foreground, and the work is signed by him, courtly poems being seldom anonymous. In these hundreds of poems, which constitute the courtly poesy of medieval literature, a general theory of love is outlined: though quite scholastic, it is not without beauty or grandeur, but it is all speculation and owes nothing to reality. The theory of courtly love is a mental exercise, not an analysis of the human heart. The inspiration of poet and musician act upon one another; even when the melodic freshness of the character-songs is there, the idea is more complex, less spontaneous and transparent, forming the first principles, quite in embryo, of the thirteenth-century æsthetics in music. The influence of this courtliness on musical achievement compels brief attention.

On attempting to define the characteristics of courtly love we again clash with the general theory of Gaston

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Paris, and it seems as if, in the beginnings of the great love-songs of the troubadours and trouvères, so obscure, so abstract, so worthy of a place in the magic circle of medieval art, we can trace a reminiscence of the *maïeroles* and *reverdies*. What, then, are the common traits which connect the simplest pastorals with the strangely complex songs of the courtly poets?

First of all, we cannot fail to observe in the poetry of the trouvères, and more especially in that of the troubadours, in the poetry of rustic and exquisite alike, one common characteristic, the inevitable description of spring. It appears with such exasperating persistency as to amount to an obsession, until at last one's eyes grow weary of sunshine and the surfeit of flowers in the pleasaunces. We long for the rustle of yellowing leaves and the crackle of dead wood. Like the crickets, these medieval poets cannot sing in winter; they must have the spring, the 'stock' opening in the game, the indispensable introduction of love-songs.

Again, the spring of the year calls for the spring of life, youth and its inseparable companion, joy. With the Provençal poets, joy and youth (*joia* et *joven*) are always coupled together. The elderly man brings sadness in his wake and the medieval lyric knows nothing of the poetry of dotage, of whitening locks and bowed head.

Finally, with the courtly poets as with the poets of pastorals, ballads and reverdies, love consists of the attraction of forbidden fruit and exists only outside marriage. The true love is the love that is free; from

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the 'Marote' of the pastorals to the 'Louise' of Charpentier this idea has ruled the roost in music. And this conception is certainly lyrical; so the sympathies of poet and reader go out to lovers, and the butt of the middle ages is the husband.

But here the differences appear, here courtly poesy becomes self-conscious and turns to characterisation; this kind of love presupposes a lover at the side of a married woman, but, while in the May-songs the craving for love calls for the definite realities of immediate satisfaction and enjoyment, in the courtly poems, on the other hand, love is a cult, the cult of the woman to whom the poet is thrall, and, as though the poet had made a profane adaptation of the Thomist doctrine of perfection, this love-worship renders the lover more perfect and more worthy of the lady of his thoughts and desires.

With the troubadours and trouvères, indeed, love is neither sensual nor passionate, it is calculated and calculating, the attraction exercised on reason by beauty and happiness. Love being the source of virtue, one concludes that poets, individually and collectively, were more often lovers than husbands.

The lady acclaimed in the song is simply "The Lady," either married or single: it is but rarely that we learn her name, for discretion is the first axiom of courtly love; patience is the second.

"Discretion is enjoined, not merely by prudence, but by a sentiment so subtle that the least publicity would

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debase it; and it becomes all the more necessary because the *losengiers* (gossips) must be circumvented, these being conventional characters in courtly poesy, whose function is to ferret out true and loyal love-affairs and end them by exposure. Patience is no less sternly insisted upon; the lover must submit blindly and uncomplainingly to the ordeal imposed by the lady and must await her pleasure, mutely and respectfully resigned: he is not only forbidden to sue for reward, he may not even commit the crime of confessing his passion."[1]

The curious result of this is that the lady always appears in such a magnificent halo of nobility, dignity, calm, splendour, and even purity, that it is sometimes difficult to believe that these idols of poetical adoration condescended at last to reward (*guerrodoner*) their devoted servants.

The contradiction is apparent, but has not disconcerted contemporary writers; we will follow their example, and if the medley of ideas so subtle as to be almost unintelligible often obscures our view of the realities, and if the woman's frailty in the intrigue is often too cunningly concealed, yet assuredly literature contains nothing more discreet, or more chaste in design, than these courtly songs.

One has only to read Blondel, Gautier d'Épinal, Gillebert de Berneville, and many others, to see how

[1] A. Jeanroy, *Les Chansons*, in Vol. I, p. 373, of l'*Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, published by Petit de Julleville (1896).

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the trouvères proclaimed the virtues of suffering in love, that joyful and precious suffering from which all happiness springs; for true happiness, gladness that fears no bitterness or rude awakening, joy and pure enjoyment, are the outcome of faith in Love, Love being almost personified into a feudal lord, the never-failing protector of him who serves his master well.

This doctrine of Love, derived from Christianity, is really a profane adaptation of divine love. This analogy will be referred to later, but for the present let it be noted that love's true aim and influence are in the direction of happiness; in his love-quest, where a brave array of trials endured and good deeds accomplished is needed to bring him to his lady's side in fairer worth and honour, the cavalier mounts the ladder of perfection and finds himself at last the *fin ami* (perfect lover), worthy perhaps of the reward of so great effort.

With the ultimate morality of these adventures, and the value of tortuous dialectic on the casuistry of love, we need not concern ourselves. But we may assert that the dominant idea in courtly love is a fine one, on a higher plane than the sensuality of paganism, and that we are indebted to the lyrical poets of the middle ages for an incomparably noble expression of a sentiment that is peculiarly French—respect for woman.

Regarded as music, one must admit that while the author's personality is more completely revealed in the love-songs than in the simpler types previously discussed, there is more of the sophisticated, and consequently

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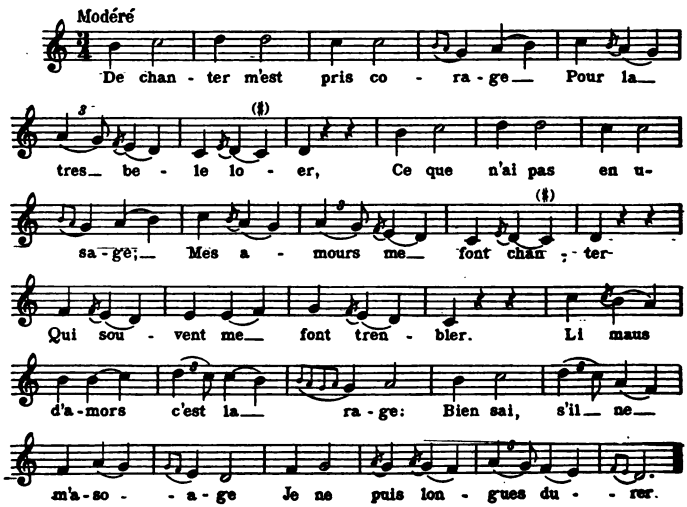
less of the natural and spontaneous. The melodies of pastorals, reverdies or albas have seemed very close to our own feeling; such melody would not appear out of place to-day in our stock of traditional folk-song, were any vestiges to be found therein. In these love-songs, on the contrary, the sense of effort is clearly felt, leaving an uncomfortable impression that their melodies are indelibly marked with the stamp of the century which produced them, and belong to a type of civilisation quite obsolete. The following example will serve as an illustration:[1]



[1] This song, by Richart de Semilli, is taken from MS. 5198, page 171, in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal. The text of the poem has been published by Georg Steffens, in *Der kritische Text der Gedichte von Richart de Semilli*. Halle, 1902, 8vo.

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(I have taken courage to sing,
To praise the fairest lady,
A task to which I am not accustomed;
But the same love makes me sing
Which often makes me tremble.
The torments of love are madness:
I know well, that if they be not eased,
I cannot endure for long.)

This shows signs of conscious effort on the part of the composer of this melody, and its due comprehension and assimilation require a corresponding effort on our part.

2. THE DÉBATS, OR JEUX-PARTIS. (*Dialogues.*)

This is the *carmen amoebaeum* (discussion-song) of medieval poetry, and is a remote descendant of the Virgilian *alterna* (see Virgil, Eclogues, 3, 59; *amant alterna Carmenae*). In these, the dialogue no longer concerns itself with rural subjects, as in the pastoral, May-song, and their variants; but the subject chosen for debate is usually taken from philosophy, morality, psychology or politics, curious themes for poetical treatment.

The middle ages recognised two forms of dialogue-song, the *tenson* and the *jeu-parti* (or *joc-partit*).

In the *tenson* (or *tenso*) the two parties exchange opinions freely upon a given subject. It is a conversation in music, more or less animated, on one of the humanities or on some definite topic of interest. An example of the former occurs where Jacques d'Amiens complains of his woes in love to Colin Muset, the latter advising the love-lorn swain in his own light-hearted way to "follow his example and devote his affection to

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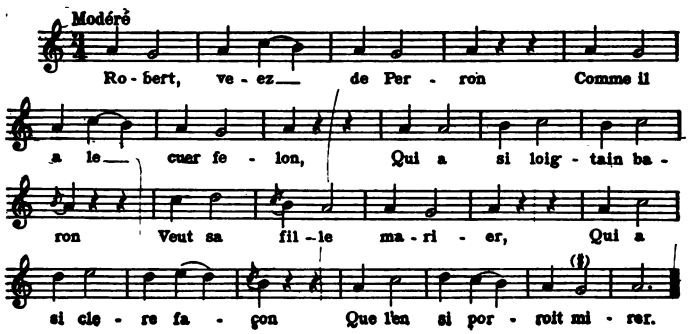
capon and garlic sauce, milk-white pasties and all the good viands of a cosy hearth." Topical discussions are illustrated in the following familiar example:[1]



II

Hé, Diex! comme ci faut raison!
Elle a dous vis a foison,
Gente de tote façon,
Or vos en vueille mener.
Robers ne vaut un bouton
S'il ainsi l'en l'aist aller.

III

Sire, vos doit on blasmer,
S'ainsi l'en lessiez porter
Ce que tant poez aimer,
Et ou avez tel pooir.
Nel devez laissier aller
Por terre ne por avoir.

. . . . . .

[1] This song of the King of Navarre deals with the marriage of Yolande, daughter of Pierre Mauclerc, Count of Brittany, with Hugue de Lusignan, son of the Comte de la Marche, in 1231. The original melody here transcribed is that in the Chansonnier de l'Arsenal, p. 41. The most recent edition of the text is in K. Bartsch, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français*, p. 249.

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I

(Robert, look at Perron,
What a felon's heart he has,
For to a distant lord
He would marry his daughter,
Whose eyes are so bright
That one can see oneself in them.

II

Ah, God! What lack of justice!
She has sweetness in abundance,
Every kind of gentleness,
Yet now he would take her from you;
Robert is not worth a button
If he thus lets her be carried off.

III

Sire, one should blame you
If you suffer them to carry away
Her whom you can love so much,
When you have such power.
You should not let her go
From any land or domain.)

Even more than in Northern France, fine examples of the *tenso* existed in Provence, as early as the middle of the twelfth century.

The *jeu-parti* (the *parture* of the trouvères and the *partimen* of the troubadours) reflects another conception. The singer who opens the contest proposes two conflicting solutions, leaving the choice of one to his adversary and undertaking the defence of the other; after the manner of the sophists. Of course, the curious choice of subject made one side as plausible as the other; take, for example the following:

Which has the greater power of love, the woman whose cautiousness prompts her to forbid her lover's appearance in the lists, or the woman whose pride urges him to distinguish himself there?

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How should one choose to visit one's mistress, in daylight on foot, or on horseback at night in a snowstorm?

Of two lovers, which is the less unfortunate, one who is blind or one who is deaf? The blind one.

If your profession, like mine, entailed devotional visits to nuns and lay-sisters, to which of the two would you prefer to make love? *Answer:* The lay-sister.

Colart, the trouvère, propounds the following to Mahieu of Ghent: "Of three conditions, those of monk, husband and bachelor, which is the most desirable?" Common consent chooses the last.

What should one desire; to read his lady's heart like a book, or to have no secrets from her?

Gillebert de Berneville asks his interlocutor, Thomas Herier, another citizen of Arras, if he would willingly forgo the pleasure of eating peas in lard for the sake of a rich inheritance.

"Suppose," says Henri Amion to Mahieu of Ghent, "that I am a lady's favoured lover; which would be more unpleasant for me, to be thrashed in her presence by my wife, on her account, or to see her thrashed by her husband on mine?"

Jean d'Estruen asks Colart le Changeur which of two women he should love, the one that promises to dress his hair or the one that promises to comb his beard?

"What is the most precious virtue in a cavalier?" asks Pierre Mauclerc of Bernard de la Ferté; "is it bravery or generosity?"

Which is preferable; to possess a mistress and be denied the delights of seeing her and speaking with her, or to enjoy perfect freedom of sight and speech, without the remotest hope of possession?

"I cannot regain the good graces of the lady I love, unless I beat her well; shall I do so?" asks Hue of Robert. Robert replies, "Do not hesitate."

Further notice of these absurd problems, which sound more like parodies than serious discussions, would be a waste of time. This form was in its origin a social diversion, a sort of intellectual tournament, in which the spectators marked up the points according to the skill displayed in question and repartee. Certain texts suggest that this amusement was known in Provence. But it is evident that the subjects available for discussion

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showed signs of exhaustion, and that the requirements of novelty drove authors to the limit of oddity, till finally some poets, especially the trouvères of the Artesian school, showed an ill-disguised tendency to treat courtly love with satire and derision. As M. Jeanroy says, "The type clearly belongs to a period which no longer takes a serious view of the idealistic conceptions that had charmed the close of the twelfth century, and presages the downfall of the poetry which these ideals had fostered. It has, however, many claims to interest; it is strange to see the spirit of dialectic and repartee, hitherto confined to the schools, make its appearance in ordinary society. Though one can hardly treat these productions as authorities on the procedure of medieval dialectic, sophism and false syllogisms were not uncommon, and no doubt conformed to the fixed rules of the art." [1]

Historians of medieval history are equally confident in their solution of the equally puzzling question of the music.

In his professor's lectures on medieval lyrical poetry, given at the Collège de France in 1904, M. Joseph Bédier admits that the skilfully devised form of the dialogues precludes the theory of improvisation, and takes it for granted that they were the joint work of two poets performing for the benefit of a distinguished audience or a gathering of their fellow-poets.

[1] Jeanroy, *Les Chansons*, in his *Histoire de la langue et de la littérature française*, p. 387.

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M. Jeanroy, too, in the chapter quoted above, comes to an identical conclusion: "These dialogues appear to have been really the work of two (or three, or even four) poets; the frequent allusions, mostly satirical, to the character, calling and even the physical qualities of the interlocutors, as well as the acrimony of some of the disputes, render untenable the theory of individual authorship."[1]

So far, so good! Literary historians admit that the *jeu-parti* is the work of two poets! But what of the music? To which of the joint authors is it to be ascribed? Are we to choose the trouvère who opens the debate? Or are we to admit the possibility that a musician collaborated with the poets?

The present writer contents himself with putting these questions, being unable to solve this nice little problem of medieval musiciology. With the courage of his opinions he ventures to conjecture, *pace* scholars more learned than himself, that these debates are imaginary from start to finish, and that the same author, better versed in sophistry than appearances may suggest, champions unaided the two conflicting opinions. The musical texture displays a unity of form that betrays the whole machinery.

3. RELIGIOUS SONGS

Religious inspiration in the lyrical poetry of the troubadours and trouvères has not produced such perfect results as might have been expected in periods so rich in faith as the times of the Crusades and the reign of Saint Louis.

[1] Jeanroy, *ibid.*, p. 386.

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The reason for this is that any attempt to treat of sacred matters in poetry written in the vernacular was foredoomed to failure. The Church excluded the vulgar tongue from its Liturgy, and, moreover, contemporary society took but a languid interest in hymns to the Virgin, greatly preferring dainty love-songs and racy pastorals.

The sacred song struck a false note; not that the religious poetry of the middle ages was devoid of real beauty—far from it, indeed—but it is to be found only in the Latin poetry of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, which produced two great poets, Adam of Saint-Victor and Philip of Grève.

Religious poetry in the vernacular is handicapped from the start; not from lack of cultivation, for the number of sacred poems is very large, and though many are anonymous, many are the work of recognised trouvères and troubadours, but from a general top-heaviness of vexatious artificiality. I have laid stress on the need for Christian ideals to inspire courtly love with its noble and lofty qualities. When a trouvère followed up the praises of his lady-love with a song in honour of the Virgin, there was no change of key, so to speak; hence, as between a song of courtly love and a sacred song there is no difference in charm, inspiration, and even vocabulary. At the most it is the Virgin Mary substituted for Marote the shepherdess, this being practically the only change adopted in turning a pastoral or courtly song into a hymn.

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This simple method of adapting familiar secular machinery to religious ends explains the frequency with which Northern and Southern poets in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries wrote sacred words to secular tunes with some success and popularity. This practice necessitated the adoption of an identical form of rhythm, and, often, even of rhyme. M. Paul Meyer[1] remarks that Jacques of Cambrai wrote several of these adaptations, which Wackernagel somewhat loosely terms clerical parodies. The anonymous song to the Virgin, "Ay! amans fins et vrais" (Ye brave and gallant lovers), is a variant of a piece with the same opening words by Gautier d'Épinal. There are many more of these structural imitations. Gautier de Coinci's "A che que je weil commencier" (When I wish [*veux*] to begin) is formed on Gille le Vinier's "Sire ki fait mieus a proisier" (Sir, who dost most praiseworthy things); Gautier's "Amours dont sui espris" (Love which has enchained me) is an imitation of a piece by Blondel de Nesle with an identical opening; and his "Dame de valour" (Noble lady) is the rhythmical counterpart of the anonymous composition "Mere au Sauveor." In the two articles quoted above will be found a classified list of sacred songs modelled on the form and tune of some older ballads.

Little more freshness is found in the poetical content of

[1] P. Meyer, *Types de quelques chansons de Gautier de Coinci*, in "Romania," Vol. XVII, p. 429. See also Jeanroy, *Imitations pieuses de chansons profanes*, in "Romania," Vol. XVIII, p. 477.

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these songs. A few are charming, but the majority quite commonplace, the same ideas persistently recurring. The Christian dogma of the Virgin-Mother fires the poets to admiration, but the language used, though rich in possibilities, is really very limited as to vocabulary; the same metaphors and parallels are constantly used, borrowed from Latin poetry (we meet them all in Adam of Saint-Victor), whence they were transferred to religious poetry in the vulgar tongue.

In connection with the statement that some of the trouvères composed sacred songs, we find examples in the works of Thibaut de Champagne, and though such pieces are mostly anonymous, one of these trouvères was most conspicious for his piety. He was a genuine monk—not of the Rabelaisian variety, like that monk of Montaudon who is known, above all, as a perfect troubadour. I refer to Gautier de Coinci. Born in 1177, Gautier de Coinci entered the order at an early age, for in 1193 he was a monk in the Abbey of Saint-Médard at Soissons. In 1214 he was prior at Vic-sur-Aisne, and in 1233 abbot in his former abbey of Saint-Médard. Three years later, in 1236, he died.

Gautier de Coinci was the author of an immense collection of *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, a monumental example of narrative poetry. He is represented in lyrical poetry by some thirty songs, preserved, with their melodies, in the manuscript which contains his *Miracles*. They can be best judged here by a quotation of this charming specimen:

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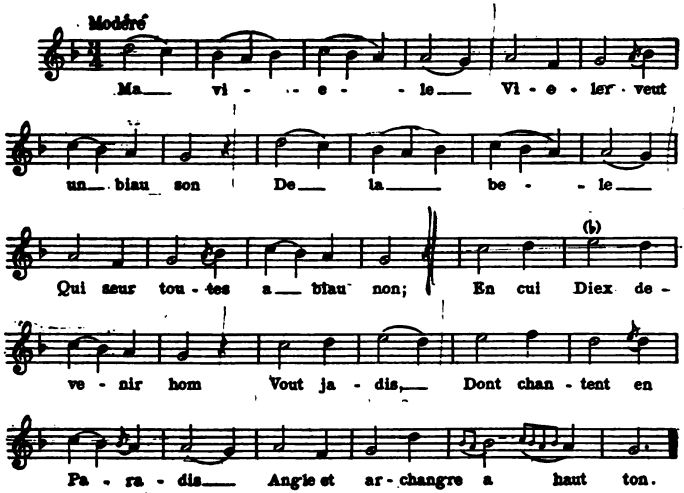

II

Qui de s'ame
Veut oster le fiel amer,
Nostre Dame
Jor et nuit doit reclamer.
Fole amor pour lui amer
Jetons fuer :
Qui ne l'aime de douz cuer
Bien se puet chetif clamer.

. . . . . .

VI

Porte du ciel,
De Paradis planche et ponz,
Sorse de miel,
De douceur pecine et fonz
D'enfer qui tant est parfonz
Nous deffent.
Qui non crient peu a de sens
Car n'i a rive ne fonz.

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VII

Douce dame,
Par mult vraie entencion
Cors et ame
Met en ta protection.
Prie sanz dilation
Ton fil douz,
Qu'il nous face vivre touz
In terra viventium.

I

(My vielle
Wishes to play a good song
About the noble Lady
Renowned above all women;
In whom God deigned of old time
To become Man,
Of whom Angels and Archangels
Sing aloud in Paradise.

II

He who would purge
Bitter gall from his soul,
Must call
Upon Our Lady day and night.
Let us cast aside
Foolish love, that we may love her;
He who does not love her with gentle heart,
May well proclaim himself a caitiff.

. . . . . .

VI

Gate of Heaven,
Stepping-stone and bridge to Paradise,
Fountain of honey,
Lake and fount of sweetness,
From hell that is so deep
Defend us.
He who fears not is devoid of grace,
For he has nor spring nor fount.

VII

Sweet lady,
In all true loyalty,
Body and soul
I entrust to thy protection.
Pray, without ceasing,
To thy dear Son,
That He may grant us all to live
In terra viventium.)

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With religious and courtly poetry must be classed Crusading songs, composed by sundry knights on the eve of their departure for the Holy Land, and in the Holy Land itself, when leaving or parted from their Lady-loves in their expedition against the Saracens to regain the land wherein the Saviour shed His blood for man's redemption. The theme of these songs is somewhat monotonous; a constant variation on the conflict raging in the heart of the lover, torn between the passion he forsakes and the Christian task to which his duty calls him. An entire book has been written on these songs;[1] it is therefore superfluous to enlarge on them further in the present work.

[1] J. Bédier and P. Aubry: *Les Chansons de croisade.* Paris, 1908 8vo.

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IV

TROUBADOURS AND TROUVÈRES

A hundred and fifty years of musical history must be covered in this short chapter, yet these troubadours and trouvères by no means represent the sum total of the musicians of the period.

Tunes by some forty troubadours and two hundred trouvères have been preserved, and anonymous works, not counting authors of the twelfth century whose names are lost to us; the manuscripts which have survived contain two hundred and sixty troubadour songs and nearly two thousand trouvère songs, with their melodies.

A certain number of songs have come down to us without their melodies; the deficiency being considerable in the case of troubadour songs for the reason that the trouvère songs were copied in sufficient numbers to ensure the preservation of words and music in one manuscript, if not in an another, while only two manuscripts (the La Vallière song-book, in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, and the manuscript in the Ambrosian Library in Milan) were devoted to the melodies of the troubadours.

The troubadours were the pioneers; the earliest known troubadour, GUILHEM IX, Seventh Count of Poitiers and Ninth Duke of Aquitaine, wrote from 1087 to 1127,

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that is, at the very beginning of the twelfth century; CERCALMON (Cercamon) was cotemporary with the death of Louis VI; MARCABRU (Marcabrun) attended the court of the Count of Poitiers, Guilhem VIII, the father of Eleanora.

These three are the earliest known lyrical poets of the Middle Ages. Of Guilhem IX's work, one song only, words and music, is extant: none of Cercalmon's melodies have survived. To balance this, Marcabru has left us four pieces, with their musical notation. From an examination of the historical allusions in his poems, made by MM. Jeanroy, Dejeanne and myself, it appears that Marcabru's activities ceased in 1147, since no reference is made to events of a later date.

FIRST PERIOD OF LYRICAL ACTIVITY

If we follow certain historians of literature and agree that the first period lasted from the middle of the twelfth century till about 1190, we must make additions to the names of Guilhem IX and Marcabru, putting in the first rank the author of some melodies which have reached us, JAUFRE RUDEL, the gloomy legendary hero, love-sick for a distant princess whom he has never seen—the princess of Tripoli. BERENGUIER DE PALAZOL is, as we know, the author of eight songs, and, as his biographer tells us, *trobet bonas cansons*[1] (composed good songs). BERNART DE VENTADORN we already know. He was

[1] *Biographies des Troubadours*, p. 96.

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of low extraction and humble birth: his mother tended[1] the bake-oven at the castle where she worked, but *bels hom era et adregz saup ben cantar e trobar et era cortes et ensenhatz*[2] (he was a fine, clever man and knew well how to sing and compose and was courtly and learned). Nineteen of his songs have survived, one of them the well-known "*Quan vei la lauzeta mover*" ("When I see the lark a-flutter").

RAMBAUT OF ORANGE (Rambaut d'Aurenga) (fl. 1150-1173), was a clever troubadour, an adept in 'rimes chères' (difficult rhymes). He fell in love with several women, amongst them being the Contesse d'Urgel, whom he never saw, and who never saw him. One only of his melodies has come down to us.

BERTRAN DE BORN, quite apart from his considerable contribution to musical history, was, as the most turbulent of troubadours, sufficiently conspicuous in the chronicles of his time to arrest our attention for a moment. In love-affairs he found relaxation from political intrigue, his affections being equally divided between his passion for fighting and his predilection for women. He was smitten by a daughter of the Vicomte de Turenne, Mathilde, who had married the lord of Montagnac, Guillaume Talleyrand: then, having lauded her fair tresses shot with rubies, and her white skin, white as the hawthorn blossom, he forsook her for a second Matilda, his grace of Saxe's duchess, still more

[1] *Biographies des Troubadours*, p. 10.

[2] Some accounts make his father an oven-tender.

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beautiful, and still more lovable than his first flame. In between whiles, many other ladies, such as Guicharde de Comborn, or Tibour de Montausier, engaged his amorous proclivities. But his most serious undertaking was to set the sons of the second Henry Plantagenet at loggerheads; the elder, Henry the younger, had been trained by his father in kingly duties. Bertran de Born, bearing a grudge against Richard, took Henry's part in the quarrel between the two brothers; but in 1183, when Henry died, Bertran de Born at first mourned honestly and eloquently for the young king, whose disappearance threatened to extinguish his prospects. But when Richard had seized the castle of Autafort, the troubadour's property on the borders of Périgord and Limousin, Bertran tried to ingratiate himself with his conqueror, thinking this the best way to regain his own. He succeeded, and in his later years the devil turned hermit and retired to the Cistercian Abbey of Dalon, near the same Autafort which had been the scene of his romantic career.

I have named those troubadours only whose works have survived in whole or in part, yet how many others are known to us as both musicians and poets in their own day, but as poets only in ours!

Southern France, therefore, then possessed lyrical poetry in a fairly well developed stage when the earliest trouvères first made music to the north of the Loire. Attempts have been made to trace the paths by which the poetry of the troubadours travelled with its gift of

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form and inspiration to the Northern trouvères, in the second half of the twelfth century. It has been surmised that the point of contact between the two schools is to be found in the neutral zone formed by Limousin, la Marche and Poitou; also that the Crusade of 1147, bringing men of the North and South together for many months, must have facilitated this interchange of ideas. Stress has been laid on the prominent part played in literary history by the two daughters of Eleanor of Aquitaine, Marie and Aelis, who, married to Henry I of Champagne and Thibaut of Blois, respectively, must have inspired their surroundings with a taste for courtly poesy, and honoured trouvères with their patronage. Further, frequent traces have been found of troubadours in Northern castles and of trouvères in Southern. Thus, Bernart de Ventadorn resided in Normandy at the court of Eleanor of Aquitaine in 1152, and Richard de Barbezieux at the court of Champagne, with Marie, then widow of Henry I. Guiraut de Calanson and Bertran de Born had personal relations with Geoffrey of Brittany, the patron of Gace Brulé. A northern poet, Hugue de Berzé, dedicates one of his compositions to Folquet de Romans (Folquet of Rotman). We find several examples of the *jeu-parti* with northern and southern poets as the contesting parties.

But these are merely isolated instances. It seems to us to be more in accordance with the historical realities to conjecture that the same causes which gave rise to the Provençal poetry in the south could, generally speaking,

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act upon the north, for the poetry of the trouvères, though it bears traces of having borrowed from the south, has certain qualities and characteristics entirely its own. Finally, if the influence of the south upon the north requires elucidation, we have only to point to the work of the jongleurs. The jongleurs, wanderers before all things, moved constantly from one court to another, with the latest songs as well as news. They were welcomed in the castles of l'Île de France, Champagne and Picardy, by listeners eager for news of happenings on the banks of the Garonne and Rhone. In the days before newspapers the jongleurs were the special correspondents, and it is not an exaggeration to say that the jongleurs were one of the earliest factors in bringing North and South together and promoting the social unity of France.

But these reflections are too serious for the lightness of the subject in hand, and having claimed for the trouvères a certain measure of independence in their inspiration, lets us take a brief survey of the most prominent among them.

As with the troubadours, a first period of activity may be noted among the trouvères, prior to the end of the twelfth century. They are nearly all poets born in the northern or eastern provinces of France. Among them are many historically important figures in literature and music.[1]

[1] There is a fairly critical edition of the poetical text of the earliest trouvères: Brakelmann's *Les plus anciens chansonniers français*, Paris, 1891-1896 (2 vols., 8vo.)

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CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES and GAUTIER D'ÉPINAL are perhaps the two earliest known trouvères. Of the former's work little survives; about twenty specimens of the latter's work have come down to us. Both were known and patronized by the Count of Flanders, Philip of Alsace, who inherited the province in 1168 and died in 1191.

Mention should here be made of the CHÂTELAIN DE COUCY and BLONDEL DE NESLE, the latter famous in legend from the Middle Ages onwards, and honoured, even in the eighteenth century, in Sedaine's *Richart Cœur de Lion;* M. Leo Wiese's recent book has laid the ghost.[1]

The distinguished personality of CONON DE BÉTHUNE requires fuller consideration. This trouvère has had the good fortune to be excellently treated by M. Axel Wallenskoeld, and is, consequently, familiar to us.[2]

The precise date of Conon de Béthune's birth cannot be stated: born about the middle of the twelfth century, he was the fifth child of Robert V de Béthune and his wife, Adélide de Saint-Pol. He was already a poet of repute when called upon to join the third Crusade. His contemporaries, among them his kinsman and fellow-poet Huon d'Oisi, reproached him for his premature return in 1191. In February, 1200, he championed the Cross for the second time and was entrusted with the arrangements for the transportation of the Crusaders to Palestine. He appears to have taken a prominent

[1] Leo Wiese, *Die Lieder des Blondel de Nesle.* Dresden, 1904, 4to.

[2] Axel Wallenskoeld, *Chansons de Conon de Béthune.* Helsingfors, 1891.

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part in this enterprise, and when the fleet reached Corfu in 1203, he was among those who voted for an expedition to Constantinople in support of the young Alexis, pretender to the throne of the Grecian empire.

At various stages of the expedition, when the old Emperor Alexis ordered the Crusaders to leave his dominions, when it was proposed to call upon the young Emperor Alexis to respect his promises, and when Comte de Blandrate, Governor of Thessalonica, came into conflict with the Emperor Henry, 1207, it is Conon de Béthune that we find employed as intermediary, his tact and eloquence singling him out as the Crusaders' mouthpiece. The Villehardouin chronicle gives us further details of his life, which will be found in the excellent biography in the edition of his poems. Conon de Béthune probably died between 1219 and 1221. The politician, statesman and soldier in the man quite overshadowed the poet; but it is the poet that concerns us now. Ten compositions have been tentatively attributed to Conon de Béthune. The two most interesting (and most probably authentic) are two ballads of the Crusade, written on the eve of departure for the Holy Land.

I have dwelt somewhat at length on Conon de Béthune, because this trouvère presents a characteristic and complete type; he is not a poetaster, dependent upon opportunity for his verses: poetry is but one manifestation of Conon's intellectual activities, and he is equally successful, whether he sets his delightful verses to charming music, or counsels the Crusaders in felicitous language.

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On the authority of the *Grandes Chroniques de France* it was long believed that the trouvère GACE BRULÉ was contemporary with Thibaut of Champagne, and that these two collaborated in the songs which bear the King of Navarre's name only in the copies made at Provins and Troyes. This conjecture placed Gace Brulé some time before the thirteenth century, but Paulin Paris, in the *Histoire littéraire de la France*,[1] and, more recently, M. Gédéon Huet, in his critical edition of the poems published in the *Société des anciens textes français*,[2] have given a totally different explanation of the passage in the *Grandes Chroniques*. Moreover, M. Huet has shown that the *Roman de la Violette* and *The Romaunt of the Rose* or *Guillaume de Dole* quote these two poems by Gace Brulé. Now, we know that Guillaume de Dole cannot be later than the twelfth century, and seeing that Gace is spoken of as a ballad-writer whose verses are quite familiar, it follows that a considerable portion of his poetical activities must be placed before 1200, especially as Gace is spoken of as "mon segnor" in both quotations, adds M. Huet. So the trouvère was a knight as well, from which it may be inferred that in 1200 he was no longer a young man. Finally, by establishing the identity of personages named by the poet in the closing lines of his songs, this scholar adduces fresh grounds for supposing that he must have lived in the twelfth rather than in the thirteenth century.

[1] Vol. XXIII, p. 564 *et seq.*

[2] G. Huet, *Les Chansons de Gace Brulé*. Paris, 1902, 8vo.

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Gace belongs to the prolific line of Champagne writers: his output was considerable.

We shall couple with Gace Brulé a trouvère who was in close touch with him, GAUTIER DE DARGIES, who went so far as to speak of Gace as his "compain" (partner). His songs, though as many as thirty have survived, give us no clue as to his life or the date of his death; one just mentions that he left his lady-love to go crusading, and another informs us of his return to France. At any rate, Gautier de Dargies was a Picardian, and undoubtedly flourished, like his "compain" Gace Brulé, at the end of the twelfth century.

Another trouvère of Northern France, HUON D'OISI, a kinsman of Conon de Béthune, had also been his master in poetry. Conon had twitted him with his abstention from the crusade preached against Saladin in 1187; but the Lord of Cambrai had his revenge when Conon returned prematurely at the heels of Philip Augustus in 1189, and the spiteful energy of the old trouvère inspired the violent diatribe that has come down to us.[1]

Maugré tous sainz et maugré Dieu ausi
Revient Quesnes, et mal soit il vegnans !
. . . . . .
. . . . . .
Honiz soit il et ses preechemans,
Et houniz soit ki de lui ne dit : "Fi !"
Quant Dex verra que ses besoinz ert granz,
Il li faudra, car il li a failli.

[1] Bédier and Aubry, *Les Chansons de Croisade*, p. 62.

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(In spite of all the Saints, in spite of God Himself,
Conon returns, and a curse be on his coming!
. . . . . .
Evil to him and all his preachings,
And evil to him who does not cry him, "Fie!"
When God sees how great are his needs,
He will forsake him, for he [Conon] has forsaken Him.)

These constitute the prominent poets of the first period. The troubadours and trouvères of the first thirty years of the thirteenth century, that is, those who write *circa* 1195-1230, appear to form a second division. M. Jeanroy accepts this classification and we may follow his example.

SECOND PERIOD

What are the names of the troubadours whom we meet in the course of this second period?

We are told that ARNAUT DE MAROILL (Arnold of Marvoil, or Mareuil) was a clerk of humble origin. Like all troubadours, he placed his heart and his muse at the disposal of a lady whom he loved, the Comtesse de Burlats, daughter of Raymond V of Toulouse and wife of the Vicomte de Béziers. But shyness prevented him from disclosing his love to his lady, or letting her know that the songs she received were his composition; and yet he had a formidable rival in the King of Aragon, Alphonse II, who was less generously disposed; the latter procured the unlucky poet's dismissal from the society of the Comtesse de Burlats. Arnaut de Maroill flourished 1170-1200.

FOLQUET OF MARSEILLES, as all self-respecting troubadours should, had his poetical career speckled with

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numerous amours. His biographer good-naturedly enumerates them for us. It was a sad day for the poet when one of the ladies who lent a most favourable ear to his ardent avowals, the wife of William VIII of Montpellier, daughter of the Emperor of Byzantium, Manuel Comnenus, was repudiated and sent back to her father by an impatient husband, who had good cause for complaint, we are told. Apparently, Folquet took exception to the husband's point of view, and having seen his patrons, the Viscount of Marseilles and the Count of Toulouse, Raymond V, die one after the other, soon renounced the world in disgust and took orders. He closed his life as Bishop of Toulouse, a surprising conclusion to a stormy career. His active life as a poet is placed between 1180 and 1195; be that as it may, we know that he died in 1231. He had long given up writing, and his contemporaries took a malicious delight in getting jongleurs to sing in his presence the very songs which he had composed in former years; on these days, the poor bishop, now all contrition, mortified his flesh with bread and water.

PEIRE VIDAL was an ingenuous enthusiast, who fell in love with every woman he met during an existence which is one long series of romantic adventures. His chief claim to interest lies in our knowledge that his contemporaries thought highly of his musical gifts: *e cantava mielhs d'ome del mon, e fo bos trobaire* (he sang better than any one else in the world and was a great troubadour).

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The MONK OF MONTAUDON (Montaldon) appears to have been a Rabelaisian sort of individual, permanently enshrined in a jolly Abbey at Thelema. His poetical gifts and the uses to which he put them brought a shower of presents from noble lords who invited him to their houses for their entertainment and advancement. But, as a self-denying monk sworn to poverty, he kept none of these riches for himself and handed them all over to his priory. It is supposed that the Monk of Montaudon, of whose works but two survive with their melodies, wrote between 1180 and 1200.

GAUCELM FAIDIT'S biographer gives the following description of him:

Fils fo d'un borzes e chantava pieitz d'ome del mon. E fetz mot bos sos e bonas chansos. E fetz se joglar per ochaison qu'el perdet tot son aver a joc de datz. Hom fo lares et mot glotz de manjar e de beure : per que endevenc gros otra mesura.

(The son of a burgher, Gaucelm Faidit excelled all his contemporaries in singing. He composed many good tunes and ballads; he turned jongleur because he had lost all his property at dice. His love of good living made him enormously fat.) The biographer adds that he married a woman of no character, a *soudadeira* (wanton), Guilhelma Monjo; once beautiful and clever, she eventually become as gross and vulgar as her husband. Historians of Provençal literature give 1180-1216 as the extreme dates of his compositions. Gaucelm Faidit's

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output must have been considerable, but fourteen only of his songs, with their melodies, have come down to us.

GUIRAUT DE BORNEIL (or Bornelh) was, in the words of his contemporaries, *maestre dels trobadors*, a master among troubadours. His writings may be dated between 1175-1220. We are already acquainted with him through his admirable dawn-song or *alba*, a composition so delightful as to compel our acquiescence in the judgment of his fellows. He belongs to the line of Limousin troubadours, and was born in the Excideuil district, not far from Périgueux. He so arranged his mode of life *que tot l'ivern estava a scola et aprendia e tota la estat anava per cortz e menava ab se dos cantadors que cantavan las soas cansos* (that he spent all the winter studying at the schools and the summer in travelling from court to court with two singers who performed his compositions). In these few lines we have a faithful and picturesque description of a troubadour's life: during the winter he would attend schools of minstrelsy, where he could perfect himself in the rules of his art and the science of music; in summertime he went from castle to castle, taking with him jongleurs to sing his songs. Alphonse VIII, King of Castile, was his patron and loaded him with presents.

RAMBAUT DE VAQUEIRAS, on the other hand, belongs to the Provençal and Viennese school of poetry, like Rambaut of Orange, Pistoleta, Blacatz, Folquet of Rotman, and Folquet of Marseilles. He was still

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writing in 1207. He is known to us through the *estampida* quoted above (see page 43).

Gui d'Ussel (Guy of Uisel) brings us again to Limousin; he was contemporary with Gaucelm Faidit and the famous Marie de Ventadour, a very clever poetess and closely associated with many troubadours. Guy belonged to the seigniorial family of Ussel; he had two brothers, Ebles and Élie, poets and troubadours like himself, and a third, Peire, who undertook the performance of his brothers' works. Guy was also Canon of Brioude and Montferrant, which did not deter him from numerous adventures of gallantry, so startling that even the Papal Legate was perturbed thereby and prevailed upon him to give up his rhymes and ballads.

Twenty-two compositions, words and music, of the troubadour Raimon de Miraval (Raymond of Miraval) (fl. 1190-1220) have survived. He was attached to the household of Raymond VI of Toulouse, who kept him in horses, arms and clothes, the usual remuneration of poets in the thirteenth century; later he became the boon-companion of Peter II, King of Aragon.

Peire Cardinal, as his biographer says, *apres letras e saup ben lezer e chanter* (studied letters and was a good reader and singer). Like so many others, he went from court to court, royal or baronial, with a jongleur to sing his ballads for him. He was specially favoured by James, King of Aragon, and lived to nearly a hundred. His poems were composed between 1210 and 1230.

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Only troubadours whose musical compositions have survived are included in this brief biographical survey. These are the minority: but to compensate for this, there are a fair number of trouvères of this period (1190-1230) of whom particulars are available.

As a rule, when a poet has no other claim to historical distinction, our biographical information is very meagre. In the case of the troubadours we have material in abundance, but in no sense critical, merely reflecting the frame of mind in which their poems were approached in the early years of the fourteenth century. It is rather by a few scattered suggestions in the opening or closing lines of the poems, and by the identification of names quoted here and there, that historians have succeeded in assigning approximate dates to the authors.

The earliest trouvères, previously discussed, received the most attention and are best known in our time. However, for a study of certain trouvères now under consideration there is a document, not so picturesque, indeed, as the biographies of the troubadours, but infinitely more reliable; this is a collection of official records, the *Registre de la Confrérie des Jongleurs et des Bourgeois d'Arras*.[1] M. Geusnon has proved that this is not, as might be expected, a record of admissions into the order, but a register of deaths, and that the dates mentioned refer to the decease of each member.

[1] The original is in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, French manuscript 8541.

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Unfortunately it gives particulars only of the trouvères of Arras, who, though numerous, did not comprise all. In connection with this second generation of trouvères, the diffusion of a taste for poetry throughout the whole domain of the *langue d'oïl* is a remarkable feature. Formerly, trouvères were met with in the North and East of France only, but now we find them in provinces where, as far as we can judge, they had been unknown, Normandy, Maine and Anjou; a few names are given here.

Colin Muset is one of the most charming poets of this period, though his origin is very humble. Socially he would be classed with the jongleurs, but he is a jongleur who writes and composes, and thus rises to the distinction of a genuine trouvère. We know little or nothing of his life, and only his allusions to "mon bon seignor de Waignonrut," "la bone duchesse," and "le bon comte de Widemont," enable us to place him in the first thirty years of the thirteenth century; but we can picture to ourselves a trouvère who often went hungry but had the one constant desire of the Bohemian, the inborn longing for the epicure's existence, the yearning for succulent dishes on a groaning table.

Quand je voi iver retorner,
Lors me voudroie sejorner
Se je pooie oste trover
Large, qui ne vousist conter,
Qu'eüst porc et buef et mouton,
Maslarz, faisans et chapons

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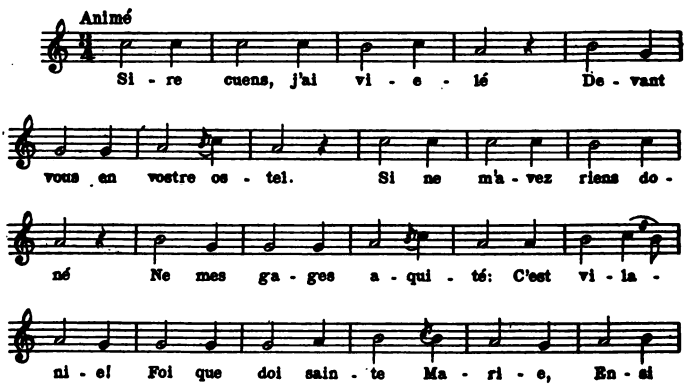
Et bons fromages en glaon.
Et la dame fust autressi
Cortoise come li mariz,
Et touz jors feist mon plesir...

(When I see winter returning,
Then I should like to stop
Where I could find a generous host
Who would not count up my score
Of beef, pork and mutton,
Mallards, pheasants and capons
And fine cheeses,
And where mine hostess also
Was as civil as her husband,
And always did my pleasure.)

These anonymous lines[1] might have been written by Colin Muset, for they picture his thoughts vividly. But the following is his work, and well worth preserving:[2]



[1] Jeanroy, *Origines*, p. 505.

[2] This song by Colin Muset is from the Arsenal MS., p. 236. See M. Bédier's critical edition *De Nicolao Museto* (Paris, 1893, 8vo), p. 130.

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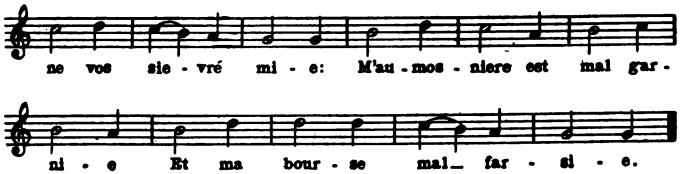

IV

Quant je vieng a mon ostel
Et ma fame a regardé
Derrier moi le sac enflé,
Et je, qui sui bien paré
De robe grise,
Sachiés qu'ele a tost jus mise
La quenoille sans faintise :
Ele me rit par franchise,
Ses deus bras au col me plie.

V

Ma fame va destrosser
Ma male sans demorer ;
Mes garçons va abuvrer
Mon cheval et conreer ;
Ma pucele va tuer
Deus chapons por deporter
A la janse aillie.
Ma fille m'aporte un pigne
En sa main par cortoisie.
Lors sui de mon ostel sire
Plus que nuls ne porroit dire.

I

(Sir Count, I have played
Before you in your lodging,
Yet you have given me nothing
Nor paid my wages,
This is villainy!
By Holy Mary,
I will never serve you more;
My pack is ill-furnished
And my purse but poorly filled.

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IV

When I come to my lodging,
And my wife sees me
With well stuffed knapsack on my back,
And I am finely attired
In cloak of grey,
You must know she lays aside
Her distaff without complaining;
She laughs at me merrily
And clasps her two arms about my neck.

V

My wife unpacks
My box without delay,
My lads water
And groom my horse;
My girls runs to kill
Two capons for our cheer,
With garlic sauce.
My daughter brings me a comb
In her hand with courtesy,
Then am I lord of my lodging
More than men can say.)

AUDEFROI LE BÂTARD brings us to the poet-minstrels of Arras. This strange school is recruited no longer from the aristocracy of feudalism which had fostered the lyrical muse till the beginning of the thirteenth century, but from the citizen class, and introduces fresh ideas, in which speculation is less recondite and the common sense of the Northern industrial cities begins to make itself apparent. Occasionally it is only the poetry in its methods that saves the songs from coarseness, but they are inspired, like the paintings of the Flemish masters in later times, by the exuberance of energy, the *joie de vivre* and the conception of life that derives its pleasures from material realities.

M. Guesnon[1] has succeeded in reconstructing the

[1] *Bulletin historique et philologique du comité des Travaux historiques*, 1894.

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historical setting of some of the earliest poets of Arras, PIERRE DE CORBIE, ADAM DE GIVENCHY, SIMON D'AUTRIE, GILES LE VINIER, and GUILLAUME LE VINIER. He has proved that they all belonged to the Church, many of them to the Arras chapter; one must believe that the Deity gave Arras unusual licence in its moral standards.

Audefroi le Bâtard is one of the most important of the ballad-writers. Having gone through the regular course of rhymed love-songs, he broke away from their monotony and revived the long-forgotten romance and put new life into the *chanson de toile* of early lyrical times. But the old specimens and those by Audefroi le Bâtard are as far apart as, for instance, the *Chanson de Roland* and Voltaire's *Henriade;* Audefroi's work is clever, charming and readable enough, but spontaneity is subordinated to formalism.

Little is known of this writer; chronological data enable us to fix one of his songs in the year 1225. He is supposed to have been a native of Arras; at least, M. Guesnon's researches proved that he lived there. He must have been born at the end of the twelfth century, but his poetical activities belong wholly to the first half of the century following.[1]

Leaving aside for the moment the trouvères of Artois, let us consider some of the writers from other provinces who contribute to this second period.

[1] A. Guesnon, *Nouvelles recherches biographiques sur les trouvères artésiens*, in *Le Moyen Âge*, May-June, 1902.

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GUILLAUME DE FERRIÈRES was Vidame (viscount) of Chartres; it is by this title the manuscripts usually mention him. The most important event of his life was his share in the fourth Crusade. In 1202, he rejoined the Crusaders at Vienna and accompanied them as far as Zara, but left the siege of this town for Syria, with a few companions. It was not till nearly the end of 1203 that he returned to Constantinople. He may have ended his days as a Templar, for a Grand Master of the Order, called Guillaume de Chartres, died of the plague at Damietta in 1219.

BOUCHARD DE MARLY was a great and powerful seigneur of the house of Montmorency; he disappears in 1236, after the return from the Crusade against the Albigenses, in which he took part.

The work of GAUTIER DE COINCI (died 1236) owes its whole inspiration to religious fervour. In his immense collection of *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, in his long-winded stories, all in poetical narrative, he has interpolated some lyrical poems which rank as masterpieces of their kind. Having written of these at length elsewhere, I need only observe that the same man who was Monk at Saint-Médard de Soissons and Prior at Vic-sur-Aisne was the most truly devout of trouvères, a solitary example, as far as I know.

Literary history ascribes a certain number of works to RICHARD DE FOURNIVAL, among them being a Latin treatise, a *Biblionomia* (the title indicating that the venerable poet was already cognisant of rules for

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cataloguing a library); a romance called *Abladane* (probably a translation from some Latin original); and, lastly, the most familiar of his works, the *Bestiaire d'Amour;* but it is as author of some fifteen songs that Richard de Fournival finds a place in lyrical poetry. This trouvère occupied a high official position; he was Chancellor to the Church at Amiens in the first half of the thirteenth century.

Many other names must be included in a survey of this period. Among them is RICHART DE SEMILLI, to whom his modern editor, G. Steffens,[1] assigns ten songs, all extant, both words and music.

ROGER D'ANDELI was a Norman trouvère, appointed by John Lackland in 1201 to be castellan of Lavardin, in Maine, while retaining the seigneurie of Hermanville (Caux).

ROBERT MAUVOISIN may be included here, if he may be identified with the knight mentioned in Villehardouin's *Chronique de la conquête de Constantinople* and associated with Simon de Montfort in the Albigensian War.

THIBAUT DE BLASON was an Angevin; he appears at various times in the history of the thirteenth century. He was still living in 1222, and died in 1229. Nine songs entitle him to a place among the poets. The King of Navarre called him "Mon chier ami;" this is his best claim to literary distinction.

[1] *Der kritische Text der Gedichte von Richart de Semilli.* Halle, Niemeyer, 1902.

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THIRD PERIOD

This final period of lyrical activity covers the last sixty years of Saint Louis's century. It is characterised by more and more finish and ingenuity in rhythmical combination; the verses assume complexities without end, in a strange jumble of heterogeneous types. This leads inevitably to a fresh start and the discovery of models hitherto unknown to or neglected by other trouvères; the further the development departs from the original lines, the more exacting grows the task.

The traditional class-division holds its own in the social scheme; while the noble lords retain their place in the lyrical poetry of the thirteenth century, the middle classes are gradually acquiring a taste for poetry and the humanities. But it is in the wealthy towns of Artois and Northern France that the growth and vitality of the movement are most marked. Intellectual progress marches side by side with material prosperity in these districts, the partnership being probably financed by lovers and patrons of art whose names are forgotten but whose influence remains.

Three troubadours, whose melodies have escaped oblivion, belong to this period.

Uc de Saint-Circ (Hugh of Saint-Circ) has left us but three of his works. His brothers intended him for the Church, and sent him to Montpellier to study literature, Latin and theology. But his troubadour soul neglected these for *sirventes* and *cansos;* it was a jongleur and not a cleric who returned to his domestic hearth.

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But Uc de Saint-Circ fully earned his contemporaries' eulogy: *cantos fetz de fort bonas e de bons sons.* (He wrote very fine songs and tunes.)[1] He well deserves a place in the history of music.

We possess six songs by AIMERIC DE PEGUILHAN (Peguillan). Enamoured of a fair neighbour, and seeking a means to disclose his passion, he took to composing, and continued long after the fever had worn itself out. The Editor of the *Biographies*[2] (M. C. Chabaneau) gives 1266 as the latest date of his poetical output.

The most important, and, chronologically, the last of the troubadours whose works survive, GUIRAUT RIQUIER, has for many years been the subject of erudite research on the part of the French scholar, M. Joseph Anglade. His edition seems very complete,[3] but, considering the importance of Guiraut Riquier's musical compositions (we have no less than forty-eight of them), leaves a serious study of this portion of his work still to be written; in Guiraut Riquier, French medieval music possesses one of its most masterly exponents.

Trouvères are very numerous in this period of *Langue d'oïl* poetry; they are either noble lords, or burghers, of Northern France.

Giving the nobility pride of place, we perceive that this aristocratic constellation clusters round the most

[1] *Biographies des troubadours*, p. 51.

[2] *Biographies des troubadours*, p. 75.

[3] Anglade, *Le Troubadour Guiraut Riquier. Étude sur la décadence de l'ancienne poésie provençale.* Paris, 1905, 8vo.

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brilliant star in the feudal hierachy, both socially and intellectually, namely, Thibaut of Champagne, King of Navarre.

Let us mention a few names. HUGUE (Hugh) DE LUSIGNAN bore the title of Comte de la Marche from 1208 to 1249. Contemporary chroniclers relate his adventures in history, especially in his disastrous war against Louis IX, his suzerain. His literary remains comprise three songs only, but these three are a feast of delicacies.

JEAN DE BRIENNE, a typical knight-errant, was first a usufructuary of the Count de Brienne, as guardian of his nephew; then he was elected King of Jerusalem; then Regent of the realm, as his daughter's guardian: then ecclesiastical administrator under Gregory IX, and, finally, Regent of the Greek Empire, as guardian of the young Beaudoin de Courtenay. He died at Constantinople in 1237. This adventurous gentleman appears as trouvère in three songs.

PIERRE MAUCLERC, Duke of Brittany, son of Robert II, Count of Dreux, was, as his name implies, a cleric without a living, and soon discarded his vestments. He became Duke of Brittany through his marriage with Duchess Alix in 1212. He joined two crusades, and died in 1250, when on the point of embarking for home. We have seven of his songs.

THIBAUT, Count of Bar, HENRI, Duke of Brabant, and CHARLES, Count of Anjou, practically complete the band of the noble trouvères whose chief, as I have said, is *Thibaut of Champagne*, King of Navarre.

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This Prince was born in 1201, some months after his father's death; the regency of the province, of which he was destined to be the twelfth Count, was entrusted to his mother, Blanche of Navarre, whose skilful management saved Champagne from disaster. In 1224 the young Count followed Louis VIII in his Poitou expedition against English rule and took part in the operations at Rochelle. Two years later, in August, 1226, his conflict with the throne began, when he withdrew prematurely from the King's army in order to return home. Louis VIII was preparing to avenge this slight upon his royal dignity, when he died in Auvergne.

The story of the early years of Blanche of Castile's regency belongs to history, which can appraise the statesmanship and initiative shown by the queen in combating the united hostility of powerful feudatories, the counts of Champagne, Brittany, la Marche and Boulogne, against a foreign queen and her twelve-year-old child. When Thibaut foresaw himself coming to grief in his royal quarrel, he lost no time in throwing himself on the mercy of the young king, who, well advised by his mother, pardoned the repentant knight. The latter, with some lack of self-respect, not only offered his sovereign hostages in token of his submission, but went so far as to disclose the plans of his late allies (1226).

The barons whom he had betrayed, attributing this defection to the irresistible attractions of the queen and a budding passion on the part of Thibaut, poured forth their resentment upon both. Contemporary poets

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echoed these accusations, one of the most virulent being the trouvère Hue de la Ferté.

But now Thibaut, disappointed at his fruitless wooing of the queen, took up with his old friends and headed a fresh intrigue against the throne, undertaking to marry Yolande of Brittany. The queen was clever enough to foil this luckless scheme; Thibaut gave up the idea of marriage and remained with the queen. Betrayed a second time, the feudatories overran Champagne and ravaged the domains of Thibaut, who found himself deserted by his dependents and harassed on all sides. It was only in 1231 that the arrival of the king's army enabled Thibaut to make honourable terms of peace with the insurgents.

Soon after, in 1234, Sancho the Strong, King of Navarre, brother of Thibaut's mother, Blanche, died, and the Count of Champagne was proclaimed King of Navarre.

This rise to power prompted Thibaut to the conviction that the time was ripe for another conflict with the King of France, to whom, nevertheless, he was so greatly indebted; and without the consent of Louis IX, Thibaut married his only daughter to the eldest son of the Duke of Brittany. The King's retort to this affront was to prepare for the invasion of Champagne, but Thibaut, without waiting for this catastrophe, hurried to Vincennes to sue for the royal pardon.

Then Thibaut, whose vacillating policy made him an object of suspicion to feudatory and prince alike, took

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to piety, and, despairing of worldly success, gave heed to the salvation of his soul. This was, perhaps, his first moment of sincerity. He organised a new crusade (1239). This futile project came to nothing, and by the end of 1240 the Count was home again. The close of his life is wrapped in obscurity; he died in July, 1253, but it is not known whether "at Troyes where he was Count, or at Pampeluna where he was king."

In the case of some of the trouvères we regret the paucity of our information, because their verses breathe a spirit of heroism and nobility that encourages us to ascribe to the authors a life instinct with beauty and generosity. But in Thibaut's case we regret that we are only too well informed. History has shorn the poet of his laurels. We should have preferred to know him through his poems alone; they are worth so much more than the man who wrote them.[1]

The chief claim of this kingly trouvère to our gratitude is that he lavished the resources of his lofty position on the patronage of his fellow poets, and that it is to him we appear to owe the employment of copyists for the reproduction of many fine manuscripts; although these copies contain principally the works of the great man himself, they include songs by other trouvères too, thus bringing us into touch with a form of art which is the most charming feature of medieval music in France.

[1] The author's edition of MS. 5198 in the *Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal* gives fifty-nine melodies by Thibaut of Champagne, transcribed into modern notation and reproduced in facsimile. See *Le Chansonnier de l'Arsenal*, Paris, Geuthner, 1909, 4to.

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While Central France was disturbed by the quarrels of its aristocratic trouvères, the worthy citizens of Arras lived lives better occupied with labour, music and poetry. So the list of Arras trouvères is enormous, and includes GILLEBERT DE BERNEVILLE, COLART LE BOUTEILLIER, ERNOUL CAUPAIN, HUITASSE DE FONTAINE, ROBERT DE LE PIERRE, and JEAN LE GRIEVILER; but "among the nebulæ of the poetical firmament of Arras, JEAN BRETEL seems to shine out as a star of the first magnitude. During the period comprised in the two crusades of Saint Louis, this prince of the court of love, this king of the *partimen*, was the master-mind of the great literary movement of which Arras was the centre."[1] More than forty songs by this trouvère are left us. Yet, in spite of his importance, he was little known until the fruitful research of M. Guesnon established his true identity and his historical personality, and was able to show, amongst other details, that Jean Bretel died in August or September, 1272.

With Jean Bretel we may put ADAM LE BOSSU, or DE LA HALLE, who far outshines all his contemporaries. To us his importance is considerable, because he was incontestably a skilled musician, equally master of descant and French verse, and treated his poetical and musical material with equal freedom. Hence it was Adam de la Halle whom Coussemaker, the founder of medieval musicology, selected for his project of devoting a whole work to one trouvère.[2] More recently, a

[1] Guesnon, *Nouvelles Recherches*, p. 164.

[2] De Coussemaker, *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle*. Paris, 1872, 4to.

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historian of medieval literature, M. Guy, has given us an entirely new presentment of the man;[1] but, after all, the actual known facts of his life can be told in a very few lines.

Adam married when still a young clerk, vanquished at first sight by a beauty whose charms he won

A la grant saveur de Vaucheles.

But, apart from his marriage, nothing is known of his early life, except that afterwards, regretting his lost career, he resolved to go to Paris and resume his studies. Did he follow up the calling attested by the *Congé?* We do not know, but at any rate he is lost to sight thenceforth. M. Guesnon asks if the poet really joined the household of Robert of Artois, at an early date, and shows that nothing corroborates the conjecture; he adds that the one certain fact is that Adam was induced by some discontented colleagues to leave Arras and follow the Count to Pouille, where he died in 1286 or 1287.

This Chapter may be summarised very briefly and concisely by a repetition of my contention at the beginning of this book: "The trouvères were musicians, as well as poets." Musicians will be found among the names here cited; the earliest of our musicians, but genuine representatives of French music. I say once more that for the most part they were originators both of the words and the accompanying music. Many, perhaps,

[1] Henri Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les œuvres du trouvère Adam de la Halle.*

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had collaborators who composed their tunes for them, but this was not done openly, and even these proxies are no less a part of our musical history.

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V

THE JONGLEURS

Just as the modern sculptor has his founder or moulder, and the composer has his interpreter, so the medieval troubadour or trouvère, poet and musician alike, had his JONGLEUR (or *joglar*), whose profession was to go from town to town and from castle to castle, to gain a hearing—for his own profit, of course—for the compositions of the masters of his art.

The jongleur and his calling are one of the curiosities of musical history, the product, not of the whole medieval period, but principally of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In former times these worthies were known by other names; later, in the fourteenth century, they formed a brotherhood and became minstrels. But in the time of the troubadours and trouvères the jongleurs had no recognised status or organisation: they were isolated individuals, essentially rovers and vagabonds. The genuine bohemians of the art-world, they occupy so important a place in musical history that I shall endeavour to define it.

Though a general distinction between trouvère and jongleur seems simple enough, cases of confusion between the two are frequent.

We have seen troubadours forced to turn jongleurs. Perdigon, who followed his father's calling and started as a jongleur, was a skilful player, singer and composer,

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"*fo joglar e sap trop ben violar e trobar e cantar.*" As we mentioned before, Gui d'Ussel, with his brothers and cousin, had founded a learned society, where each member had his own allotted task. We know too that the Northern jongleur, Colin Muset, ranked with the best of our lyric trouvères. A jongleur who became a trouvère gained promotion thereby. But just now we are concerned only with jongleurs as such, that is, either as companions of some noble trouvère and interpreters of his works, or as journeymen on his behalf, hawking their musical wares from castle to castle. Sometimes, too, the great feudal household retained a jongleur, who was attached to the person of a nobleman or king. Originally these household entertainers seem to have been classed with servants, and borne the title of *ministri* (from whose diminutive, *ministrelli*, was derived the French word *ménestrel*). But in the time of Philip Augustus and Louis IX the terms jongleur and minstrel seem to have been interchangeable. Here, however, I will use the term jongleur.

Having defined the social condition of the jongleur, we must examine some of the problems relative to his mode of life, such as his training in the schools of minstrelsy, his opportunities for exercising his craft, his unquestioned artistic standing, and, finally, the attitude of his contemporaries, and the Church, towards his profession.

The jongleur certainly had a trade, and every trade must be learnt. M. Henri Lavoix has stated the case very clearly. "It is hard to believe that these

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artists of all sorts and conditions, who went the round of towns, castles and great houses, playing and singing, these girls, half strumpet, half musician, who sang and piped when they were not turning somersaults, as may be seen in the *chapiteau* of Saint-Georges de Bocherville, came straight from the episcopal or monastic schools."[1] The old records prove beyond doubt the existence of schools of minstrelsy, and we may well suppose that they were carried on till the thirteenth century at least. The school was open in Lent, that is to say, the period when jongleurs were forbidden to perform in public. It was in these popular conservatories that the jongleurs replenished their exhausted repertoire, learning new songs and tunes to meet the popular demand. They also received elementary instruction in playing the viola and other instruments, and it was at these gatherings of jongleurs, no doubt, that bargains were struck for the sale and purchase of pocket song-books (in manuscript) for the use of our ambulant artists.

Moreover, it was quite in accord with medieval conditions that the budding jongleur should learn his trade by following and serving a master, whose singing in public he would accompany on an instrument, in return for initiation into the tricks of his craft: the jongleur and his companions are to be met with in the *Biographies des Troubadours*. Possibly these apprenticeships were agreed upon in the schools of minstrelsy. But these

[1] Lavoix, *La musique au siècle de saint Louis* (essays published as a sequel to G. Raymond's *Motets français du* XIIIe *siècle*). Paris, 1881, 2 vols., 8vo.

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are conjectures only, and we must leave them for material more tangible.

Where were the jongleurs bred? It would almost require a complete picture of feudal life to describe all the occasions on which the jongleurs, both northern and southern, might be expected to appear. They swarmed everywhere, even in cloisters and churches, from which it would seem that they should have been most rigorously excluded, and in pilgrimages, too, probably attracted more by the lure of good fees from a well-to-do crowd than by the odour of sanctity.

The laity were more accessible, for, even in the time of Saint Louis, as in our day, music appears to have formed a welcome relief to the serious side of life and an indispensable adjunct to mirth and merry-making.

Like the moth to the candle, the jongleur makes riches and favour his first objective; he tries to gain entrance into a royal household, either as a permanent appendage or as an occasional guest. Numerous entries of payments, especially in princely households, show that jongleurs managed somehow to make their way into the homes of the great, and, incidentally, give us some idea as to the scale of fees exacted.

The royal and princely courts of the West cultivated the arts to some extent, and into these, as elsewhere, the jongleurs pushed their way. It must be confessed that they were tolerated with varying enthusiasm, according as the tastes of the noble lord whom they pestered inclined to poetry or to some less refined amusement; it is

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not difficult to imagine that in the society which centred round a lofty patron of poetry and letters such as Thibaut of Champagne, jongleurs were likely to be very numerous. The County of Champagne was the promised land of the jongleurs. The lords of Vignory treated Colin Muset with generosity; at one period, as two contemporary anonymous ballads tell us, the lords of Choiseul and Reynel showered their presents on wandering jongleurs; and in our own time tramps have their signal code for marking likely hunting grounds.

Essentially creatures of fancy and mirth, it is during the lighter moments of feudal society that jongleurs are sure to be found, for little sagacity is required to conjecture that high spirits open the hand of liberality wider than the dumps. For this reason, the jongleurs hastened to participate in the festivities of their day, and did not scruple to attend private feasts uninvited. Was there a wealthy marriage afoot, they hurried to assist at it: the richer the bride and her groom, the greater the stir, and the greater the crowd of jongleurs that hurried to the festival from all quarters; this custom is known to us from numerous *chansons de geste*, such as *Aïe d'Avignon*,[1] *Raoul de Cambrai*,[2] *La Prise d'Orenge*,[3] and *Aubry le Bourgoin*.[4]

To suggest that this anxiety of the jongleurs to add

[1] *Aïe d'Avignon*, published by Guessard and Paul Meyer (v. 4102 *et seq.*), Paris, 1861.

[2] *Raoul de Cambrai*, pub. by Paul Meyer (v. 6087-8), in the *Société des anciens textes français*.

[3] *La Prise d'Orenge*, pub. by Jonckbloet (v. 1873 *et seq.*).

[4] *Aubry le Bourgoin*, pub. by Tarbé, pp. 37-8.

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lustre to wedding festivities was quite disinterested is a poor compliment to their astuteness; contemporary texts give ample grounds for the opposite conclusion.

They took part in the wedding feast and received a fee, certainly, but their chief profits often came from presents in kind. The clever jongleur would find himself smothered in jewels and personal effects showered upon him by enthusiastic guests. These gifts would consist of anything that came to hand: "mantiaux et bliaux engoulés" (mantles and broidered tunics); horses, mules and palfreys, saddle-horses, statues, cups and bowls of silver and fine gold, just as latter-day grandees and ministers reward the mountebanks of the Opéra and the Comédie-Française with gifts of Sèvres; one can well imagine that the thirteenth-century jongleurs, too, had the wit to make capital out of their boasted successes; for does not generous praise stimulate generous giving?

But, as most people marry but once, these windfalls, though remunerative, were scarce. Some less important occasion was exploited; where a banquet was not too solemn a function the jongleur became an indispensable adjunct to a gathering that relieved the monotony of a feudal existence frequently morose.

The traditions of knighthood offered numerous and various opportunities for the activities of the jongleur: after his own fashion he turned feudal customs and manners to account, selecting his models and repaying them with a 'puff' in his songs.

Suppose he selects a young knight's first appearance

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among the knightage. A religious ceremony has preceded the initiation; now comes the *veillée des armes* (the vigil of arms). But the night is long and boredom threatens, so a jongleur is called in, as a sort of lay preacher, to revive drooping spirits with discourse and song. In the morning comes the ceremony of warlike array, when the young knight takes the helm and spear, and girds on the sword he must henceforth wear and honour; this is the *adoubement* (the investiture). Here is a fine opportunity for the parasite of mirth, our merry friend with his budget of songs, his frolics and antics.[1]

This association with the knightly side of feudalism ensured for the jongleur the *entrée* to the lists. His presence was even asked for, the victors looking to him for the transmission to posterity of their feats of arms.

Such an one was Pindar at the Olympic Games. But after him comes Tyrtæus. It is as the latter that we find the jongleur in medieval texts. Taillefer, jongleur and soldier, before the battle of Hastings sang to the army a poem on Roncevaux. So striking is the picture that we regret its doubtful authenticity.

What could a jongleur do? Had his profession a genuinely artistic side?

Of course, the jongleurs had their "poor relations," the mountebanks with their sleight-of-hand, the showmen with their performing animals to amuse the bumpkins, all the types found in a travelling circus;

[1] See Lambert d'Ardres, *Chronicon Ghisnense et Ardense*, ed. Ménilglaise, p. 207, for the initiation of Arnoul, son of Baudoin II, Comte de Guignes, in 1181.

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we are not concerned with these, but with the better class, the real jongleurs, the only ones worthy of the name, sufficiently cultured and talented to play, sing and recite in good society.

We have previously observed that there was a class of jongleurs who sang of great deeds (*chansons de geste*), recounting the achievements of heroes or the pieties of saints, and, side by side with these, the lyrical jongleurs, the usual interpreters of the troubadours and trouvères. Their song was supported by instrumental accompaniment; the jongleur was expected to be singer and player too. This twofold accomplishment was no doubt enhanced by a respectable knowledge of theory; for, allowing, as will be shown in the next chapter, that the notation of the songs does not fix the duration of the notes, that the rhythm is a hidden quantity, and that an accurate knowledge of the rhythmical scheme of the period is necessary before we can discover it, we must conjecture that the jongleurs, before exercising their calling, had to master the rhythmical formulæ in the schools of minstrelsy, where they received their professional training. The songs they sang were such as those we have discussed, the compositions of the troubadours and trouvères. The jongleurs had the whole catalogue at their disposal—ballads, love-songs, *sirventes* (which are genuine satires), *descorts* (discords, songs with a change of metre and melody in each verse), lays, pious songs, *chansons de toile* (spinning-songs), *albas* (dawn-songs), *rotruenges* (retroensa), pastorals, rondeaux,

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dancing rondels, *estampies*—everything that was sung in the middle ages.

They played instruments also, for they seem to have exercised a complete monopoly of all musical culture. We can well understand that bowed instruments of the viol family were found the most convenient for accompanying the voice, on account of their adaptability for sustaining tones and the drone-bass to support the singer.

Such is the figure we can picture to ourselves, his *vièle* slung across his shoulders, and his wallet of songs in his girdle, tramping through town and village on his way to a neighbouring castle, in search of food and housing; but we can also imagine that his visits prompted mothers to hide their daughters and old folks their purses.

For though there were a few happy exceptions, some jongleurs being almost heroes, like the legendary Daurel, who substituted his own child for his master's son threatened with death by a traitor, medieval writings give the real denizens of artistic Bohemia a very disreputable character. Preachers railed at them, the church excommunicated them, and repressive measures against them were taken by the throne itself.

The general impression gathered from contemporary writings more or less concerned with jongleurs is admirably summed up by the author of the *Trésor de toutes choses*, Brunetto Latini, who wrote a thirteenth-century encyclopedia in French.[1]

[1] Brunetto Latini, *Li Trésors*, etc. Book I, Part 1, Ch. 35, in Chabaille's edition.

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"Jogleor est cil qui converse entre la gent a ris et a geu et moque soi et sa feme et ses enfans et tous autres." (A jongleur is a person who laughs and jokes in public, ridiculing self, wife, children and every one else.)

The demoralisation here revealed is pitiful, yet fairly reflects a spectacle common enough in our own times, a whole family parading their dismal antics for the public delectation.

Unreasoning greed is the prevailing sin, the mainspring of all the vices and misdeeds associated with the craft; to satisfy their craving, unscrupulous jongleurs were not above singing a bad song well. The middle ages had a kind of proverb, "Offer him a hundred silver marks; if he takes them, he is a jongleur's son."

Other characteristics were the jongleur's preference for a tavern rather than a sermon, his conception of drinking and gambling as the birthright of the wanderer who takes no thought for the morrow and squanders his night's earnings before daybreak. At least, such was contemporary opinion. In *Moniage Guillaume* we find a perfect little sketch of the type. The jongleur has a few pence in his pocket; he goes off to the inn, drinks, gambles and loses. The law against drunkenness, which is now posted up in country taverns, was not yet in force, but mine host, plump and wary, does not wait for that before stopping his customer's supplies. "Go to, my friend, and find a lodging elsewhere! But first settle your score or leave me a pledge and then begone!" The jongleur has neither pence nor pack, but the

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inn-keeper profits by the fuddled state of his bohemian guest to keep *sa chauce ou son soller* (his hose or shoes) in pawn, and ejects the poor devil, who reels out gibbering and laughing in maudlin ecstasy.[1]

> Quant voit li hostes qu'il a tot aloé :
> "Frere, fet il, querrez aillors hostel...
> Donez moi gage de ce que vous devez."
> Et cil li lesse sa chauce ou son soller!
>
> (When the landlord sees he is cleaned out,
> "Friend," he says, "go seek a lodging elsewhere,
> Give me a pledge, to frank your score."
> And he [the jongleur] leaves behind his hose or his shoes.)

The jongleurs had two powerful enemies in society, the women and the clergy. The former, as guardians of the purity of the domestic hearth, foresaw, with stern disapproval, the possible infatuation of their husbands, particularly the noblemen, for the wretches whose songs excited enthusiasm, for as we know, this enthusiasm led to ruinous generosity. We also suspect the jongleurs as counsellors fatal to conjugal happiness, and even as purveyors of extra-conjugal delights. An anonymous song[2] published by me some years ago contains a piquant monologue by a jongleur highly indignant against wives who interfere with their husbands' customary generosity. "Dieu!" he cries, "nurses and children are the death of me, and wives are the devil!" To the church, or rather the clergy, this excessive liberality was equally distasteful. With this exception their attitude towards the

[1] *Li Moniage Guillaume;* v. 1217 *et seq.*

[2] Pierre Aubry, *Un coin pittoresque de la vie artistique au* XIIIe *siècle.* Paris, Picard, 1904.

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jongleurs was neither intolerant nor unreasonable. They deplored the profession of jongleur, but accepted the plea that one must live and that all trades are good if plied honestly; this was the general standpoint of ecclesiastical legislation.

To-day we can only applaud these liberal tendencies. If, in looking back on this age of tolerance, we must deny ourselves the indulgence of enthusiasm and exaggeration, we can still discern a certain grandeur in the jongleur's calling; and this because the jongleurs were not contented with performing the light and courtly poems of the lyrical trouvères; they also spread abroad the *chansons de geste*. At a time when travel was a hardship and travellers were scarce, they overran France in all directions, singing of Provence to the townsfolk of Arras and reciting the chronicles of Normandy to the inhabitants of the East. They sang unceasingly of the glories of their country, the mighty deeds, real or apocryphal, of Pépin, Garin de Monglane, Guillaume of Orange and Doon of Mentz (Mainz); they popularised the serene personality of the Emperor Charlemagne. By means of such poems as *Floovent*, *Fierabras*, *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, *Roland*, *Roi Louis*, and *Huon Chapet*, they created what is known to scholars as the national epic. And this surely suffices to establish a claim that the jongleurs, in spite of their humble calling, contributed largely to the birth and development of the idea of French unity; amidst all their flummery and mummery was a leaven of patriotism. In the course of their

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wanderings they scattered the seed here and there, like migratory birds, and by championing the cause of the Capet dynasty, assured its triumph over the reactions of feudalism.

So, if it be true that in France all things end with a song, something similar may be said of French unity and patriotism; and the jongleurs may be credited with some share in the birth and growth of the national spirit.

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VI

THE MENSURAL THEORY OF MUSIC IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The worst possible method of studying medieval music is to take modern music as a basis and standard. Rather let us forget all we know, discarding all the convictions and prejudices of our musical intelligence to create a new and special attitude of mind for a due appreciation of the art-principles which inspired thirteenth-century musicians. Though the distance be great, it is our duty to bridge the six or seven centuries of theory and music which separate us from these pioneers who were also originators—for in the works of the troubadours and trouvères we find the initiatives of French music with the hall-mark of true nationalism. Let us forget for a moment the charming Fauré, the brilliant Saint-Saëns, the uplifting and ennobling Vincent d'Indy, let us forget our contemporaries of creative, varied and elusive genius, to study the grammar of the musical language spoken by our ancestors.

Need we repeat that the troubadours and trouvères, at the commencement of their activities (the first half of the twelfth century), were trained, as far as music goes, in the austere school of Gregorian melody? Their works are, however, a reaction against Gregorian esthetics;

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or I might say, if this form of statement be preferred, that their *ars mensurabilis* is an evolution of the ancient theory of liturgical song leading into the rhythm and tonality of modern music. We hope, therefore, to avoid the dryness of a purely technical exposition, by showing that their system forms the connecting-link, as to rhythm and notation, between Gregorian and modern music.

We must first explain the means by which it is possible to understand the musical texts of the troubadours and trouvères. To direct our footsteps, medieval writers marked out the path, which none have trodden since; the signposts are the treatises issued in the thirteenth century and brought to light in our day by the efforts of the French scholar to whom we owe the first attempt at medieval musicology, E. de Coussemaker, in the course of the nineteenth century.

These medieval musical treatises offer a difficult and delicate problem; to profit by them, one needs familiarity with the subject-matter; nevertheless, by constant practice, and comparison of their contents with the texts expounded, it is possible to explore the unknown region of medieval music without fear of losing one's way. In connection with the theorists of the *ars mensurabilis*, difficulties of a special kind have arisen. For instance, it is impossible to assign definite dates to most of the authors. It may be remembered that somewhere about 1860 a controversy, no less futile than violent, raged between Fétis and Coussemaker as to whether Franco of Cologne lived at the end of the

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eleventh century or the twelfth. Fétis ignored all probability, and on the strength of doubtful identifications placed the famous reformer of notation in the eleventh century! Coussemaker put him a century later. Now, it appears to me that the end of the thirteenth is the very earliest date that can be assigned to Franco, for musical documents prior to that date show no traces of being influenced by his reforms.

But this rather crude assortment of medieval theoreticians contains names well worth preserving. Foremost among these is a work known by its title only, a venerable treatise on music, the *Discantus positio vulgaris*, which gives in rudimentary fashion a glimpse of the earliest principles of *ars mensurabilis*. Apparently it was issued either at the end of the twelfth or at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Jean de Garlande, who certainly lived about 1240, belongs to the general history of the human mind; his activities were not confined to music alone, but manifested themselves in many different ways. Franco of Cologne, Franco of Paris, an anonymous writer known as Aristotle, and an English monk, Walter Odington, lived at the close of the thirteenth century.[1] Two authors may also be mentioned, John de Grocheo, *regens Parisius* (unknown before Johannes Wolf's[2] monograph published in 1900), and

[1] These treatises are published in E. de Coussemaker's great work, *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series;* Paris, 1864, Vol. I.

[2] Wolf, *Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo*, in the "Sammelbände der Internationalen Musik-Gesellschaft," October, 1899.

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Magister Amerus, an English priest, still awaiting the honour of publication.

As a rule, these writers preface their treatises with the statement that they intend to confine themselves to "measured" music, or, as they call it, the *ars cantus mensurabilis*, liturgical music or plain-chant being sufficiently familiar to their readers. And, indeed, they tell us nothing about the tonality of secular music, either in discant or in the songs of the troubadours and trouvères, a deficiency the more regrettable because so difficult to supply. However, let us try to fill the gap and direct our attention to the musical system of the thirteenth century.

I. The Old Tonalities and the First Steps in Modern Tonality

Secular musicians of the time still clung to the very ancient theory of ecclesiastical tonality: very ancient, because it was already some centuries old in the time of Gregory the Great, and claimed relationship with the works of Greek writers on music. I call it tonality; the term *modality* would be more correct, but in the mensural terminology it would produce confusion, *mode* there being synonymous with "rhythmical formula." For the present purpose *tonality* will be used to express what a more exact and fluid nomenclature would call *modality*, the latter word being used only in connection with rhythm in mensuration.

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In the thirteenth century, then, the basis of 'measured' compositions is the liturgical tonality, but it seems that musicians made a selection; while ecclesiastical melodies were divided among scales of eight types, beginning on different degrees and with variously distributed dominants, the works of the troubadours and trouvères present less variety.

In certain recent works a careful study has been made of the rhythmical system of the thirteenth century; but the tonality is much less familiar. Only a few of its features can be positively set forth; beyond these, all is vague. The following seems to sum up our information on the subject.

The distinction between authentic and plagal modes is lost; or, at least, the latter appear only as transpositions of the former.[1]

The use of the *deuteros*, that is, the tonality established on the degree of E (when it is authentic), and on B (when it is plagal), seems to have become more and more rare.

The eighth ecclesiastical tone, the plagal *tetrardos*, has also disappeared; the mensuralists no longer attached to tonality the importance given to it in the classic Gregorian age, and did not grasp the differences which the change of dominant made between the *ethos* (character) of the eighth mode and that of the first, D being the tonic in both cases.

[1] It will be remembered that in Gregorian music the term *authentic mode* is applied to the simple scales on D, E, F and G, and *plagal mode* to those on A, B and C. Fuller information will be found in text-books on the subject.

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We have, then, a scale D—D, and its transposition a fourth lower, A—A; this is the old *protos*, authentic and plagal. We have a scale F—F, and its transposition C—C; this is the *tritos* in its two forms. Finally, we have a scale on G, the only remnant of the ancient *tetrardos*.

As we know, Church Music would not allow changes in the degree of the scale by means of the sharp or flat. The presence of a flat before a B indicates that we have to do with a transposed piece. The flat is still employed in liturgical music to avoid in certain cases juxtaposition of F and B, which produces the interval of the tritone, that *diabolus in musica*, the bogey of the middle ages. But the mensuralists are less fastidious. *Musica ficta*, apparently a result of the needs of polyphonic music, allows more numerous modifications.

The B may be flatted when a descending melodic movement brings it together with an F, and, generally, in all descending melodic passages. Similarly, though far more seldom, the E requires flatting when there is danger of clashing with a B already flatted because of an F. But the *ambitus* of a trouvère melody is never sufficiently developed to extend the influence of this lowering of the E to the A in the tetrachord above; I have never found an instance of a flatted A.

But *musica ficta* made many other ravages on the old tonality. It introduced a notion which, one would think, should never have intruded—that of the leading-note. Except in *tritos*, the interval below the *final* in

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Gregorian music was always a whole tone; whereas the semitone is characteristic of the modern major and minor.

It was in the secular works at the time of Philip Augustus, Louis IX, and Philip the Fair, that this revolution was accomplished. The last note of the melodies of the troubadours and trouvères required a preceding semitone, instead of the conventional whole tone. So we get, in the first tone, a C sharp and G sharp before D and A; in the third tone, E and B natural before F and C; and in the *tetrardos*, F sharp before G. These three sharps, F, C and G, and no more, are found in thirteenth-century *musica ficta;* which explains the absence of the authentic and plagal *deuteros*, which would require the two sharps unknown to *musica ficta*, D and A.

But more important still, we can establish the existence of another use of the sharp and flat, arising from a phenomenon familiar in musicology, namely, attraction. This is the tendency of certain notes in an ascending melodic movement to rise above, and of descending notes to fall below, their normal degree, owing to the attraction of the note above or below.

In the thirteenth century this attraction occurs only in the case of notes susceptible to alteration. The most prominent instance is the *chorda mobilis* above all others, B. Gregorian music had already admitted this irregularity, and measured music adopted it as regular. Then there are F, often sharped in successions like D–E–F♯–G, and natural in the reverse order; C,

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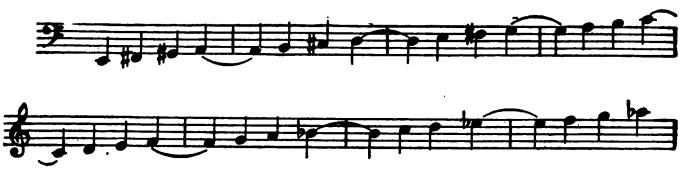
sharp in A–D–C♯–D, etc., and natural in the reverse order; and G, sharp in E–F♯–G♯–A, etc., which becomes A–G♮–F♮–E when descending. Putting theoretical speculation aside, we will state more simply, that the general *ambitus* of 'measured' melody keeps within strict limits, and that instead of proceeding through a cycle of fifths by conjunct degrees, as in modern theory, it advances through a chain of fourths by similarly conjunct degrees:



These innovations of *musica ficta* in the thirteenth century clearly prepared the way for the modern major and minor scales. The accomplishment of this transformation, which is intimately blended with almost the entire range of musical history, is the result of secular influence. Musical language has been evolved like human speech, and just as the latter developed under the guidance of wellnigh fixed phonetical laws that allowed no fortuitous changes, so the evolution of music shows the existence of laws which are none the less real because they are still obscure and ill understood.

I showed above which of the old tonalities of liturgical music were retained by measured music. With these, two groups were constituted, with this result: In the one

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we have the two forms of *protos*, the tones on D and A; in the other, a combination of the authentic *tritos*, plagal *tritos* and authentic *tetrardos*, that is, the tones on F, C and G. Let us turn for a moment to the modern theory of music, in which the function of *modal notes* is well known. They are the third and sixth degrees of the scale; according as they form a major or minor third or sixth with the tonic, the scale to which they belong is major or minor. Coming back to our mensural tonalities, we find that the scales in the first group, on D and A, have a minor third above the tonic (D–F and A–C), and a minor sixth, D–B♭ and A–F), thus being, through not less than four centuries of gradual evolution, the prototype of the modern minor. The scales in the second group. on F, C and G, have a major third above the tonic (F–A, C–E, G–B) and a major sixth (F–D, C–A, G–E), giving us a very near equivalent to the modern major scale.

This theory of the origin of major and minor is, I believe, new, and has not yet passed the ordeal of minute criticism. But it is not without interest to look for some historical origin of modern technique side by side with the usual acoustical theories of the formation of the scale.

For the rhythmical system the theoreticians of the *ars mensurabilis* are quite trustworthy guides, and it is only necessary to reproduce the information they give, while in dealing with the tones I have had to examine in detail the works of the trouvères and troubadours in

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order to extract the general deductions given above. With a change of subject, the method must be changed.

2. The Measured Rhythm of the Thirteenth Century

Even in the classical period, when the despotism of harmonic laws was at its height, the composer enjoyed complete independence in the matter of rhythm. This freedom has steadily expanded ever since; declamation, supplanting the formally restricted melodic phrase, has taken the place of accent, and the bar, often a superannuated relic, possesses a merely conventional value in our present notation, without effect on the execution. Hence, we are all the less fit to appreciate the mental attitude of the thirteenth-century mensuralists, whose narrow doctrines, imprisoning the musician in the meshes of rules and formulæ, almost completely paralysed freedom of rhythmical conception. Mensural theory offered to a composer's inspiration a choice of six forms of rhythm, merely conceding the right to expand or contract them according to the necessities of composition. Such was the medieval principle. Musicians at the time of Saint Louis thought there was a formal science of melodic outline, just as we to-day admit the existence of science and rules for the construction of a harmonic edifice.

Musicologists have not invariably thrown sufficient light on these ideas. Coussemaker made a minute study of the Motets in the Montpellier Library, about

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1860, and transcribed and scored in modern notation fifty compositions from this collection; yet he failed to observe that all the melodies conformed exactly to a very limited number of rhythmical formulæ, without any deviation.

Dr. Hugo Riemann, the learned historian of music, an authority of weight beyond the Rhine, could read the musical products of the middle ages only by the light of his general rhythmical system, claiming to reconcile every melodic phrase to a uniform four-cornered type, that is, four measures in a phrase, and four beats in a measure. This paradox places the unfortunate composer on a veritable bed of Procrustes, lengthening his melody when the line is too short, and shortening it in the opposite case. The least defect of Dr. Riemann's system is that it makes a clean sweep of all medieval theoretical works, and usurps their place in its interpretation of the compositions of that time.

As for myself, I long wavered between the two extremes of Coussemaker and Riemann, dissatisfied with both. The transcriptions which I made two years ago reflect this uncertainty. When preparing an edition of the fine Bamberg Collection of Motets in the Spring of 1907, I had occasion to make a critical study of the chief text, the Montpellier Manuscript. It was then that I perceived that the rhythms of all these motets were reducible to a few formulæ, corresponding to the rhythmical modes enumerated by the theorists, and that any formula adopted in a work was employed fro-

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beginning to end. Now, in old Motet MSS., and in those which contain the songs of the trouvères, the notation does not include indications of rhythm; in the Montpellier manuscript the rhythmical notation is still uncertain: this brought me to the conclusion that in documents of this time the rhythm is intrinsic, that is to say, latent; it exists, but the notation does not reveal it. To establish this truth, I had recourse to the following line of reasoning, very much after the manner of a syllogism.

The problem is this: The notation of the melodies of the trouvères does not mark the rhythm; are these melodies really measured? Riemann says not; or, at least, he considers that they can all be reduced to his system.

Against this assertion I would venture on another; the trouvère melodies are measured, just as motets and polyphonic compositions of the same period are measured.

Indeed, some manuscripts[1] contain monodic songs, and motets in several parts, written by the same hand with the same system of notation, the rhythm alone not being graphically expressed.

Now, motets in other manuscripts are undoubtedly measured; they are therefore no less measured even where the notation affords no indication; so the trouvère melodies found side by side with the motets are measured, too, for the notation is the same for both.

Let *C* stand for the manuscripts of motets in which the Franconian notation is clearly measured.

[1] Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, French MSS. 844 and 12615.

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Let *B* stand for the motets in a composite manuscript, where the old-fashioned notation does not indicate the rhythm.

Let *A* stand for the trouvère melodies in this composite manuscript. Then we get:

$$A = B,\ B = C,\ A = C$$

or, in plain language, (*a*) the trouvère and troubadour melodies are measured; (*b*) they are measured on the same principle as the thirteenth-century motets.[1]

The fundamental principles of this rhythm may now be explained; they shall furnish the justification for certain transcriptions already encountered in this work.

The inspiration of musicians in measured music is not unfettered in its rhythmical conceptions; every melody must conform to one of six recognised "modes." The "Mode," *modus*, or *maneries*, is a rhythmical formula, repeated as often as necessary throughout a composition.

The first "mode" (the classical trochee adapted to medieval music) is made up of two elements, a long of two beats, and a short of one.[2]

Each of these elements corresponds to a syllable, and except in special cases of expansion or contraction, each

[1] This theory of rhythm, which we owe to M. Joh. Beck, and which I had sketched in my *Rythmique musicale des trouvères*, has been amplified by M. Beck in his *Die Melodien der Troubadours*, etc. While accepting the principle and the fundamental rules laid down by M. Beck, I cannot reconcile myself to his views on certain points, such as the interchange of rhythms in the same composition, and the substitution of 6-4 for 3-4 in the third "mode."

[2] Half and quarter-notes are used here, but of course any other proportionate values are equally permissible.

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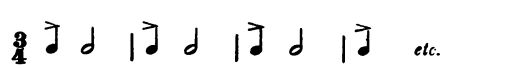
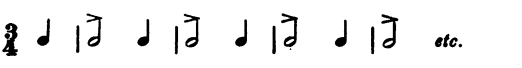
formula of the first mode should contain two syllables, no more and no less.

The second is the reverse of the first; a short, followed by a long, like the iambus of classical prosody:



In this connection we do not accept the reading of certain German prodosists (Walter Niemann, Hugo Riemann, etc.), who treat this iambic rhythm as trochaic, and change the second "mode" into a variation, by anacrusis, of the first:



This theory confuses two modes, each of which has its own rhythmical *ethos;* it is, moreover, wholly at variance with the practice observed in thirteenth-century measured music, where we find the first "mode" both simply and in anacrusis, side by side with examples of the second "mode" which are unquestionably iambic. Further, this theory conflicts with the principle of medieval measured music which demands that the rhyme-syllable and strong beat of the rhythm shall coincide at the end of a line.

As in the first "mode," each formula of the second should comprise two text-syllables, and, with a few exceptions, no more.

The third "mode" is made up of three elements:

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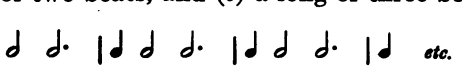
(*a*) a long of three beats, (*b*) a short of one beat, and (*c*) a short of two beats:

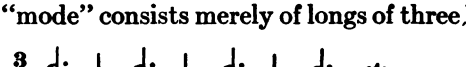
One syllable corresponds to each element, that is to say, one formula in the third "mode" contains three syllables.

The fourth "mode" is a inversion of the third, as the second is of the first; comprising (*a*) a short of one beat, (*b*) a short of two beats, and (*c*) a long of three beats:

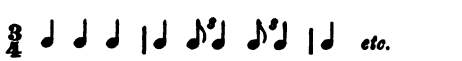


The observations made on the second "mode" apply to the fourth. The third is a corruption of the old dactyl, adopted by thirteenth-century writers as a formula in ternary rhythm, just as the fourth is a corruption of the anapest, the opposite of the dactyl.

The fifth "mode" consists merely of longs of three beats:



The last "mode," the sixth, is conspicuous for being made up of shorts and "half-shorts:"



The use of the last three "modes" is, however, very rare. No examples of the fifth have survived; there are some very doubtful specimens of the fourth: and some of the compositions here transcribed in the third may really belong to the sixth.

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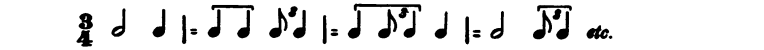
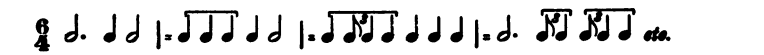
This limited choice of rhythmical formulæ must have caused intolerable sameness, especially since no change of "mode" was allowed from one end of a work to the other.

Means of relief from this monotony were found to a certain extent; the use of equivalents helped to vary the interminable procession of shorts and longs. This equalisation, *equipollentia*, sanctioned the substitution of two or three notes of the same total duration for one long one.

So the formula of the first "mode" (a long of two beats and a short of one) could be split up into figures of the same value, giving the following rhythmical equivalents:



And so throughout, the third "mode" offering such variations as these:



These variations do not affect the number of the elements of the formula or the number of syllables, though the number of notes assigned to an element or syllable is of course increased.

The form of a verse, that is, the form of the lines of which it is composed, has an important bearing on the *modus* of its accompanying melody. During the gradual formalisation of measured music in the middle ages musicians found corroboration of contemporary advance in the rich store of Gregorian melodies handed down

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through past centuries. The Christian Church adapts the free rhythm of its own melodies to the Latin prose of the sacred texts; this free rhythm of the Gregorian numbers is, in a sense, musical prose, the theory of uniformity of notes accentuating this characteristic. But composers, starting from this point, soon found that the adaptation of melodies to systems of versification rigidly syllabic—where the verses contained lines of fixed length, as part of a definite scheme laid down by the poet—necessitated due respect to metrical form in default of violating the poet's rhythmical conception. So the measured rhythm of the middle ages, that is, the code of laws governing the union of poetical with musical texts, assigned to each syllable of a line of the poem a fixed value in the corresponding element of the rhythmical formula, unalterable save for occasional exceptions.

A posteriori methods have made it possible to extract the most important of these laws from the compositions themselves; I offer them here as "articles of faith," in their simplest form. Their observance in the thirteenth century seems to have been a matter of course, requiring no formulation or commentary from theoretical writers; the probable explanation is that composers and singers and poets instinctively conformed to them.

I. In every case and in every "mode" the tonic syllable of the rhyme must fall on the strong beat of a measure, or, in the terminology of measured music, on the first element of the modal formula.

II. When the rhyme is feminine (*i. e.*, when an atonic

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syllable follows the tonic syllable of the rhyme), this atonic syllable usually falls on the second element in the first and second "modes," and on the second and third in the third "mode."

III. In the first or second "mode," coincidence between the strong beat and the tonic syllable takes place only in lines composed of an uneven number of syllables, the atonic syllable of lines with feminine endings being, of course, outside this category.

IV. To get this coincidence in these "modes," where the line contains an even number of syllables, the following expedients are adopted: (*a*) *anacrusis*, that is, an extra additional (hypermetric) syllable; (*b*) extension of an inner syllable over two elements; or, (*c*) division of a long note into two shorts.

V. A verse composed of lines of five, six, seven, eight, nine, or eleven syllables is naturally adapted to a melody in the first or second "mode."

VI. When the ligatures, or groups of notes in a melodic phrase, occur mostly on syllables that correspond to the first element of the formula, the melody appears to belong to the first "mode."

On the other hand, when they occur on syllables corresponding to the second element of the formula, the melody may be taken as belonging to the second "mode."

VII. The strophe of a song composed of decasyllabic or heptasyllabic lines, with a cæsura after the fourth syllable, or containing intermingled quadrisyllabic lines, usually requires a melody in the third "mode."

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VIII. There are some important rules governing the relations of melodic phrases in the middle of the verse, but as these are too numerous and complicated to be reproduced without illustration, reference may be made to a recent publication wherein they are fully treated.[1]

The laws described above are the fundamentals of medieval measured rhythm. This theory of rhythm is based on the æsthetic idea so successfully exploited in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, that a melody allied to words must be founded on a lyrical text. The early medievals, who saw the growth of the liturgical repertoire, had admitted the principle of a musical setting of a Latin prose text, and with it the existence of free rhythm. But from the twelfth century onward the invasion of syllabic or metrical poetry sweeps all before it, and, as a logical outcome of a system of versification in which each syllable is carefully counted, demands measured melody and musical phrases that shall reproduce the contour of the verse to which they are set. This invasion affects not only profane, but also liturgical music, and the barriers of the old Gregorian theory are broken down by the new developments in secular music.

The measured music of the thirteenth century contains the principal modern types in embryo: simple triple time (3-4 3-8 3-2); compound duple time (6-4 6-8 6-2);

[1] Pierre Aubry, *Cent Motets du* XIIIe *siècle*: III, p. 129 *et seq.*

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and very rarely, though examples exist, simple duple time (2-4). These types are, of course, merely provisional, being recast as soon as they are formed, and Philip de Vitry's remodelling of the rhythmical system at the beginning of the fourteenth century was the first stage of an evolution which is still in progress at the present time. The most modern phase offers a strange spectacle. Contemporary music, while utilising the rich treasure acquired in the course of development on secular lines, has been persuaded by certain of its composers, many of them highly gifted, to take an occasional glance backward, so far, in fact, that it has passed the mensuralists and reached the Gregorian age, which now finds itself the inspiring genius of twentieth-century music. What was said above of tonality is equally true of rhythm. Since the Renaissance, the theories of the mensuralists and writers on the *ars nova* have been accepted as a heritage, but just at the present moment it is the rhythmical freedom of Gregorians that is reflected in the compositions of many distinguished French composers. In many pages of modern music the bar is simply a matter of convenience and has no effect on the rhythm, or it is made meaningless through constant change of time-signature; so much so that, but for the Gregorian principle of the indivisibility of the Gregorian *tempus primus*, we should find a striking similarity in the rhythmical inspiration of two musicians separated by fourteen centuries of history. It would seem that the foundation of novelty is the obsolete.

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3. The Notation of the Troubadours and Trouvères

The notation is familiar to us from manuscripts quoted in the course of this work, but its rhythmical significance was mysterious and puzzling until M. Beck solved the problem with his "modal interpretation," a solution accepted by the present author. Since, according to the melodic *modus*, each syllable of a line had its rhythmical value, determined before ever the composer set out to write his music (thus, the fourth syllable of a decasyllabic line is good for three beats, the fifth syllable for one beat, the sixth for two beats), and since an almost absolute fixity suppressed rhythmical freewill, it was not indispensable that the notation should define the time-values of the notes; as a matter of fact, these indications are wanting in nearly all the manuscripts that have survived.

On examining the facsimile of a page of a trouvère song (facing page 20), it will be seen that all single notes have the same shape—a square head with a down-stem on the right. There are groups of two, three and four notes, but the shape of these ligatures is of no importance in itself, since the total value of the notes which form the group is known beforehand. This notation is before all things melodic; it is diastematic, and this characteristic is indispensable; for though the old neumatic notation without a staff sufficed as an aid to memory in the case of melodies already familiar, like those in the liturgical repertory, these new melodies of the troubadours and

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trouvères required a caligraphy that could at once fix the position in the scale occupied by each note. Up to this point the notation of the manuscript suffices. Its weakness lies in its inability to express time-values.

General knowledge of measured rhythm served partly to supply the missing details, but contemporary writers were alive to this deficiency and sought a remedy. They found one immediately by making a distinction between the signs for a long and a short, keeping the long as before (a square with a down-stem on the right) and using a plain square for the short. But in this second period of the notation of measured music, represented by sections II-VI of the Montpellier Manuscript, or the Manuscript "Chansonnier français 846" in the National Library in Paris, the shape of the ligatures is still a matter of indifference.

The last improvements in the notation of measured music, at the end of the thirteenth century, were the work of Franco of Cologne. The groups or ligatures, each note of which had its definite value, were given an equally definite sign to express them, and were subjected to the bizarre rules of *proprietas*, *improprietas*, and *opposita proprietas*. In practice these classifications existed long before Franco's time: his task was to codify a medley of rules and incorporate them as a methodical system.

The thirteenth-century notation had many drawbacks, the most serious being that, designed as it was to express in writing the time-values of a musical system in which ternary rhythm was a fundamental principle, it was not

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fitted to express the division of one beat into two parts. There are certainly a few examples in which two equal *breves* take the place of a *longa*, but these are clearly exceptions, and writers on the *ars mensurabilis* make no mention of this division of one beat into two.

Hence it came about that when (after 1325) the new theory of the *ars nova* had gained a firm hold upon musicians and amateurs, the old-fashioned notation of the preceding period was promptly discarded; when binary rhythm had regained its proper position in music, from which it had been ousted by the extra-musical speculations of theologians and philosophers, a reconstruction of notation was bound to accompany theoretical reform. Yet the transition from the square notation of the thirteenth century to that of the *ars nova* in the succeeding century can be followed as easily as the evolution of the square notation from the old neumes. In the *ars nova* there were two values shorter than the semibreve of the mensuralists and quite unknown to these writers, namely, the *minima* and the *semiminima*, prototypes of the modern crotchet and quaver. The fifteenth century eliminated the inner portion of these notes, preserving their contour, and so, if we go back, step by step, from modern notation to the Renaissance, from the Renaissance to the *ars nova* of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and from the *ars nova* to the measured music of the mensuralists, we join hands with the middle ages, the ultimate source of all contemporary music.

The *brevis* of the mensuralists, retained in the fourteenth

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and fifteenth centuries, but transformed by the "white" notation, became the *maxima* in Renaissance music.

Similarly, the *semibrevis* is the ancestor of the modern semibreve.

From the *minima* came our minim and crotchet, while the *semiminima* is the prototype of our quaver, semiquaver, etc.

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CONCLUSION

In the foregoing pages an attempt has been made to summarise my previous researches concerning the beginnings of French music at the time of the troubadours and trouvères; addressing myself to those lovers of music who do not care to worry themselves with heavy treatises overweighted with notes and references, but who combine a taste for their art with a healthy curiosity as to all that goes to form a part of their intellectual patrimony.

That France was the educator of the Western world in medieval history is well known, but it is not so well known that French music in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries was the accepted model of all European music, and that in music, as in many other branches of art, other nations are tributaries of France's creative genius. Measured music took root in the heart of this country: it was in Paris that it first came into being towards the end of the twelfth century, it was the musicians of Notre-Dame who formulated its rules at about the same time, and it was during the reign of Saint Louis that French music, through the teaching of its masters and their work preserved in manuscripts, spread its influence far beyond the frontiers of the realm.

The few documents bearing on the history of music in England during the same period give ample proof of

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French influences. The Norman Kings, who replaced the Anglo-Saxon Kings after the battle of Hastings (1066), brought the French language to England; lyrical poetry, as far as can be judged from specimens which have survived, flourished on English soil; music also prospered; two monks, Walter Odington, a Benedictine monk of Evesham, and Amerus, wrote treatises on the *ars mensurabilis* on the lines of the French theorists.

The *Minnesänger* of Germany, though their language was old German, were, musically, tributaries to the same influence. Franco of Cologne may not be Franco of Paris, he may have written by the banks of the Rhine and not on the Île de France, but his theories merely summarise the principles that emanated from the cloisters of Notre-Dame, fifty or sixty years before; the examples he quotes and the motets he illustrates, proclaim his learning to be wholly Parisian, and he is not the only subject of the Holy Empire who went to France for his artistic equipment.

Of Italian music in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries but little is known; though definitely national characteristics are hard to find in it, the Italian troubadours certainly imitated their Provençal confrères, and French compositions were highly popular in Italy, as shown by a perusal of the manuscripts of French lyrical poetry made by the Italians for the benefit of their fellow-countrymen.

But it is in Spain that this influence is chiefly manifest. Without entering into a critical study of the Spanish

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troubadours, Galician or Catalonian, we may recall the name of one, conspicuous amongst his distinguished fellows, Alfonso the Wise,[1] the author of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, written in the Galician dialect. Alfonso was a musician of the French school. King of Castile from 1252 to 1284, he welcomed the presence of troubadours at his court, among them being Guiraut Riquier. It was at that time that manuscripts of French, even Parisian origin, such as the *volumen discantuum* which I unearthed at Madrid, crossed the Pyrenees to introduce the works of our master-musicians to the great cathedrals of Spain.

It must be allowed, then, that French music enjoyed the reputation of recognised supremacy in the Western civilisation of the thirteenth century. This can be better realised if we are self-confident enough to ask no more of these melodies than they can give, and to treat them purely objectively.

What we must not expect to find in medieval music, particularly that of the troubadours and trouvères, is all that subsequent progress and development have added since the time of Saint Louis. But what still lives and counts in this music is the naïveté and the grace of youth. The melodic ideas of the troubadours and trouverès are simple, and their means of expression humble. But the ideas are charming, and we can listen to them with pleasure. I have spoken of the poverty of their rhythmical formulas, but have hardly done justice

[1] Alfonso X of Castile (d. 1284), named "El Sabio" (The Wise).

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to the variety of effects made possible to the composers by the multiplicity of scales; modern music, mostly concerned with major and minor scales, has in this respect fewer resources. Though there is a certain nobility in the troubadour melodies, worthy of imitation, the rhythmical scheme is less satisfactory: it gives us no free speech in music, but brings us too near to the formalities of Adam, Hérold, Boïeldieu, the *Dame Blanche*, *Zampa*, the *Chalêt*—in fact, the type of opera popular in the sixties. I would almost venture on the formula—no better and no worse than all formulæ which claim to summarise an æsthetic judgment—that a troubadour or trouvère melody is of equal musical value with an air out of an old-fashioned comedy-opera sung without an accompaniment.

Some would advance this as a reason for not disturbing the slumbers of these medieval melodies in the manuscripts that enshroud them. But there are two very good reasons for the opposite course. The first is, that the melodies of the troubadours and trouvères are among the most ancient landmarks of French music, and, as such, enable us to explore to the very source of our present-day theory of music and to understand many peculiarities of modern notation and tonality that would otherwise remain unintelligible.

The second reason takes us somewhat beyond the scope of music. A complete grasp of the lyrical poetry of the troubadours and trouvères is impossible without taking into account the melodic element allied to it,

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and the most learned research of philologians must be incomplete when this essential is neglected. Historians of literature must always leave a part of their task undone if they forget the aphorism of the old troubadour, Folquet of Marseilles, "A verse without music is a mill without water."

The formula is happily conceived; it should earn for the troubadours and trouvères a place to-day among the great musicians of their time, if not of ours.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

I.—*BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS*

Under this caption we indicate the sources of all researches into the melodic productions of the troubadours and trouvères. These are the manuscripts from the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth which are kept in public libraries, and without which no original research-work can be undertaken.

The songs of troubadours, together with their musical notation, are found in the following MSS.

PARIS, Bibliothèque Nationale, f. français 22543
" " " " 844
" " " " 20050

MILAN, Ambrosiana R, 71, Sup.

The songs of trouvères, also with the musical notation, are found in the MSS. enumerated below:

ARRAS, Bibliothèque, ms. 657.
LONDON, British Museum, Egerton MS. 274.
PARIS, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5198.
" Bibliothèque Nationale, f. français 844.
" " " " 845.
" " " " 846.
" " " " 847.
" " " " 1591.
" " " " 12615.
" " " " 20050.
" " " " 24406.
" " " nouv. acq. franç. 1050.
ROME, Vatican Library, Christine MS. 1490.
SIENA, Library, MS. H.X. 36.

We shall not conclude the bibliography of the manuscripts without mentioning a work which, although intended for philological research, is of the greatest assistance to musicologists; namely,

RAYNAUD, GASTON. *Bibliographie des chansonniers français des* XIIIe *et* XIVe *siècles.* Paris, 1884, 2 vols. 8vo.

II.—*BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THEORISTS*

The treatises of theoreticians on the Mensural Music of the thirteenth century have been gathered together into two large collections:

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GERBERT, MARTIN. *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum ex variis Italiae, Galliae et Germaniae codicibus manuscriptis collecti.* Sankt Blasien, 1784; 3 vols. 4to.

DE COUSSEMAKER, CH.-E.-H. *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series a gerbertina altera.* Paris, 1864; 4 vols. 4to.

These two collections have become exceedingly rare in the book-trade; new editions were published at Gratz in 1908.

To the above should be added a highly important treatise by

WOLF, JOHANNES. *Die Musiklehre des Johannes de Grocheo;* published in the "Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft," 1889, Heft I.

III.—*CRITICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY*

Under this head will be mentioned the principal publications concerning the musical history of the troubadours and trouvères. This renders it unnecessary to enumerate the editions of these poets; a very exact list may be found in Groeber's *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*, a new edition of which appeared recently.

LA RAVALIÈRE (DE). *Les poésies du roi de Navarre avec des notes et un glossaire français.* Paris, 1742, 2 vols.

DE LABORDE. *Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne.* Paris, 1780; Vol. II.

PERNE. *Chansons du Châtelain de Coucy, suivies de l'ancienne musique, mise en notation moderne avec accompagnement de piano.* Paris, 1830.

DE COUSSEMAKER, E. *Œuvres complètes du trouvère Adam de la Halle.* Paris, 1872, 4to.

Coussemaker's further writings have to do with polyphonic music; but useful information concerning mensural music may be found in his *Histoire de l'harmonie au moyen âge* (Paris, 1852) and in his *Art harmonique aux* XIIe *et* XIIIe *siècles* (Paris, 1865-6).

JACOBSTHAL, G. *Die Mensuralnotenschrift des 12.-13. Jahrhunderts.* Berlin, 1871, 8vo.

LAVOIX, HENRI. *La musique au siècle de saint Louis,* an Appendix to the *Recueil des Motets français* by G. Raynaud. Paris, 1884; 2 vols.

It will cause no surprise that we omit to mention the chapters relating to the troubadours and trouvères contained in the various general histories of music. Everything in Fétis is to be rejected; nothing in Ambros can be utilized.

We shall now take up a series of studies which display a regard for exactitude and a critical care quite unknown to the earlier works. Of these I shall cite only the most important. Besides, several of them have already found mention in the preceding pages.

TIERSOT, JULIEN. *Histoire de la chanson populaire en France.* Paris, 1889, 8vo.

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We greatly regret having forgotten to mention this remarkable book in our first edition. At certain points it touches the secular musicology of the middle ages. It should be recalled, that two of the prettiest chansons of the thirteenth century, *Bele Yolanz* and *A l'entrada del tems clar*, were published by our excellent colleague in 1889 according to the *Chansonnier de Saint-Germain des Prés* (see below); and we should observe, that the editor at that time spoke of the importance attaching to the melodies of the trouvères for the history of modern tonality at its beginning. Moreover, and long before Hugo Riemann, M. Tiersot advanced the idea that it is necessary "to bring the rhythm of the music purely and simply into conformity with that of the verses in order to discover, beneath an imperfect notation, the original rhythms of the melodies of the middle ages" (p. 415). This prevision of our present theories concerning the measured rhythm of the thirteenth century, is highly interesting.

MEYER, P., and RAYNAUD, G. *Le chansonnier français de Saint-Germain des Prés.* Photo-engraved facsimile. Vol. I (the only one issued), Paris, 1892. (Published by the "Société des anciens textes français".)

RESTORI, A. *Per la storia musicale dei trovatori provenzali.* Turin, 1895-6, 8vo. (Separate reprint from the "Rivista Musicale Italiana." Bocca, Turin.)

RIEMANN, HUGO. *Die Melodik der Minnesänger.* A series of articles published in the "Musikalisches Wochenblatt," Leipzig, 1897-1905.

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SCHLÄGER, G. *Über Musik und Strophenbau der französischen Romanzen.* Halle, 1900, 8vo.

JEANROY, BRANDIN ET AUBRY. *Lais et descorts français du* XIIIe *siècle.* Text and music. Paris, 1901, 4to.

RIEMANN, HUGO. *Handbuch der Musikgeschichte.* Vol. I: Altertum und Mittelalter bis 1450. Leipzig, 1904, 8vo.

AUBRY, PIERRE. *Quatre poésies de Marcabru, troubadour gascon du* XIIe *siècle,* in collaboration with MM. Jeanroy and Dejeanne. Paris, Picard, 1904, 8vo. (Separate reprint from the "Tribune de Saint-Gervais.")

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AUBRY, PIERRE. *Recherches sur les ténors français dans les motets du XIIIe siècle.* Paris, Champion, 1907, 8vo.

AUBRY, PIERRE. *La rythmique musicale des troubadours et des trouvères.* Paris, Champion, 1907, 8vo.

AUBRY, PIERRE. "Le Roman de Fauvel." *Reproduction photographique du manuscrit français 146 de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris, avec un index des interpolations lyriques.* Paris, Geuthner, 1907, folio. (This work marks the final phase of the period of the troubadours and trouvères.)

AUBRY, PIERRE. *Iter Hispanicum. Notices et extraits de manuscrits de musique ancienne conservés dans les bibliothèques d'Espagne.* Paris, Geuthner, 1908, 8vo. (A revised collection of articles which appeared under the above caption in the "Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft" [1907]. It is connected with the study of the troubadours by the chapter on the *Cantigas de Santa Maria* by Alphonse le Sage.)

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AUBRY, PIERRE. *Cent motets du XIIIe siècle, publiés d'après le manuscrit Ed. IV. 6 de Bamberg.* I: Phototypic reproduction of the original MS.; II: Transcription in modern notation, and arrangement in score; III: Studies and commentaries.—Paris, Geuthner, 1908. (A publication of the Société internationale de musique, Section Paris. This work, which treats more particularly of polyphonic music in the thirteenth century, is mentioned here because it contains a complete exposition of the measured rhythm of the middle ages, which is that of the motets and chansons. It was the study of this Bamberg MS. which enabled us to lay bare, for the first time, the laws of the said rhythm, and apply them later to the songs of the troubadours and trouvères.)

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